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PALESTINE

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EMPIRE STATE BLDG. 61st FLOOR NEW YORK I, N. Y.

No.52/42/48

January 24, 1948

With the compliments of the

28 JAN 1948

United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations

Harold Beeley, Esq., Eastern Department, Foreign Office, London, S.W.1, England. **FO**

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

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He. 52/42/48

January 24, 1948

CONFIDENTIAL

Bear Benis,

We are sending you under separate cover copies of Delagation documents P. (N.Y.) 1 - 3, comprising memoranda prepared by our special advisors on Palestine, Trafford Smith of the Colonial Office and Flatcher-Cooke of the Palestine Government, for submission to the United Mations Commission. We shall be sending you regularly future papers of this series and, as you will have seen from paragraph 3 of our telegram No.166 of January 22nd, are also communicating them confidentially to the United States and Canadian Delegations here.

- As you will see, the note on the security position in Palestine contained in paper P. (N.Y.) 2 largely consists of material taken from recent Jerusalem telegrams and suitable for publicity. The paper itself may therefore be useful to you for this purpose. We feel, however, that as at present drafted it is perhaps somewhat too much of an apologia for the Arab case (which has of necessity been inadequately presented to the Commission) to be suitable for publication as it stands.
- It seemed to us that it would be useful to have a general and informal discussion on Palestine with the U.S. Delegation in view of our common interest in the Security Council angle and in Middle Eastern affairs, and I accordingly took Trafford Smith and Fletcher-Cooke this morning to see Gordon Knox, who seems to be the

Denis Allen, Esq., British Embassy, Washington, D.C. 371/68531

/official....

official chiefly concerned there since the departure of Hilldring. Knox expressed much gratitude and we had a long discussion. This was naturally of a general character and I do not know how far Knox was speaking for the State Department or, indeed, for the U.S. Delegation. He made, however, one or two points which seem worth recording, as follows.

After a discussion of the obvious difficulties, in the way of security and otherwise, of implementing the United Nations plan, Knox expressed the view that if the Commission found itself unable, through Arab non-cooperation or for any other reason, to set up the Arab State and the joint arrangements envisaged under the Plan, it would consider that it had done its duty if it were successful in setting up the Jewish State, which might of course not cover the whole of the territory assigned to it by the Assembly resolution. This State would, he thought, at once be recognised by the United States and by various other Governments, and should be able to maintain itself in being with the aid of the Haganah and with the right, which it would enjoy as a sovereign State, of appealing to the United Nations against any attack or subversive movement from outside. In reply to the objection that the implementation of one part of the Partition Plan would really not be implementation at all, Knox said that, according to his information, the framers of the Plan had not considered the joint arrangements essential to the life of the Jewish State, and that Sandstrom had, during the Assembly, expressed to him the view that it was quite likely that the Joint Economic Board recommended by UNSCOP would never be set up.

On the question of the provision of a United Nations force, either to implement the Assembly resolution or to protect the Jewish State against aggression, Knox said that "we" (by which he seemed almost indifferently to mean the United Nations, the Commission or the U.S. Government) would be very loth to contemplate providing a force for the former purpose alone. He was, however, impressed by our estimates of the force which would be necessary to police Jerusalem alone, and admitted that there was, as far as either of us knew, no recognised United States or British estimate of the real strength of the Haganah. But he felt that the U.S. Government would not be prepared to take part in intervention merely to keep the Jews and Arabs from each other's throats, though it would be a different matter if it were a question of preserving the United Nations scheme from utter failure. In general, and in view of the many political complications, he thought it likely that the United

/Nations....

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Nations would not be prepared to tackle the question of a force unless and until they were confronted with serious trouble in Palestine.

We discussed the question of the physical security of the Commission itself and agreed that, while that body would eventually in all probability have to take up its abode in the Jewish State under the protection of the Haganah, it would wish, at least at the outset, to show the United Nations flag in the City of Jerusalem. Knox pointed out that His Majesty's Government would, of course, be responsible for the Commission's security during the overlap period until the termination of the Mandate, and was told that the official policy was that the Commission would enjoy whatever security was going. It is clear, however, that this security will not be 100% adequate; and it is for consideration (though we did not of course discuss this with Knox) whether His Majesty's Government should not at least publicly warn the Commission of the state of affairs before it leaves for Palestine, in order that they should not be accused of having misled the Commission and jeopardised both the security of its members and the United Nations Plan itself. It is, of course, possible that if the date for terminating the Mandate is alvanced there will, in fact, be no overlap during which His Majesty's Government are themselves responsible for the security of the Commission.

- 7. In connection with the question of Arab non-cooperation, Knox referred speculatively to the possibility that King Abdullah might at some stage seek to absorb the area of Palestine which was not under the control of the Jewish State. He remarked at one point that King Abdullah would no doubt feel in a position to do so if assured of the consent of the United States and the United Kingdom. This, of course, may well have been nothing more than a personal expression of view; but it seems possible that the U.S. Government might regard as a tolerable solution, from the standpoint of United Nations prestige, one which insured the creation of the Jewish State while providing in this way for the absorption of the left-over Arabs.
- 8. We have naturally no means of judging from here whether Knox's statements are official, and I am therefore reporting them to you for any comments you may care to make. We think that in any case the talk achieved a useful purpose of education, and that it might be a good idea if the Palestine advisers, and possibly myself, were to come to Washington either during or after the discussions with the Commission, in order to talk over these matters with you or Tom Bromley and at a suitable level in the State Department. Would you let

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me know what you think of this idea?

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of the point touched on in paragraph 6 above, I am sending a copy of this letter to Beeley (and an extra one for transmission to Martin at the Colonial Office). If there are any points on which you think it should be corrected or supplemented perhaps you would send a telegram to London.

Yours ever,

(P.S.Falla)

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.
31st January, 1948.

E 1236/4/31 CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Paul,

Thank you for the copy of your letter No. 52/42/48 of the 24th January to Allen, giving an account of a conversation which you have had on the subject of Palestine with Gordon Knox. It was a surprise to me, at the last Assembly, to find that Knox appeared to be the principal adviser to the United States Delegation on the Palestine Committee. I did not get the impression that he was very well qualified in this field, and it also seemed to me that in conversation he did not choose his words very carefully, so that it would probably not be safe to assume that the ideas he discussed with you necessarily have any basis in official policy.

With reference to your paragraph 5, I think you should know the direction in which opinion is moving in the Office.

We are convinced that a decision by the Security
Council to send an international force to Palestine would
be dangerous to the interests of H.M. Government. I am
personally convinced that the arrival of any international
forces in Palestine, so far from intimidating the Arabs
would provoke them into violent action on a much larger
would provoke them into violent action on a much larger
scale than is occurring now. It must also be remembered
that the Governments of the independent Arab States are
very much at the mercy of their public opinion, and that
the reaction in other Arab countries is likely to be
very much the same as that in Palestine. Any government

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Paul Falla, Esq., United kingdom Delegation, NEW YORK. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

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in Iraq or Syria, which did not, in the event of international action against the Arabs of Palestine, yield to the popular clamour for armed intervention, would in my opinion be swept out of office. Thus the military intervention of the United Nations on one side would provoke military action on the other and would start a conflagration in the Middle East with incalculable consequences. Apart from the direct effects of such a development on our own interests in the Middle East, we cannot lose sight of the fact that the success of the Marshall Plan depends to a considerable extent on the uninterrupted flow of Middle Eastern oil to Wester Europei Even now we fear that the supply of Iraqi oil through Haifa may be cut off before long, either by the action of the Iraqi Government or by sabotage of the pipe line.

If the conflict in Palestine develops in such a way that Iraq and Syria are directly involved, we may also some the flow of Iraqi oil through the other outlet of Tripoli, pipe line development may be held up for a long time, and the resumption of the flow through Haifa indefinitely delayed. It is hardly necessary to add that the Soviet Union would be the only beneficiary both from the confusion in the Middle East and from the oil-starvation in Western Europe.

It is true that, during the Assembly, the United Ringdom Delegate tried to impress upon the other delegations the danger of recommending a settlement in Palestine without at the same time providing the means of enforcing it. This argument was used, however, in the hope of persuading the Assembly not to adopt proposals which would arouse the irreconcilable antagonism of either Arabs and Jews. The Assembly disregarded the warning, and we do not consider that we are committed by anything we said before the veto to giving any support to measures for enforcing the decision which they have in fact taken.

The only decision so far taken by Ministers which bears on our attitude in the Security Council is that

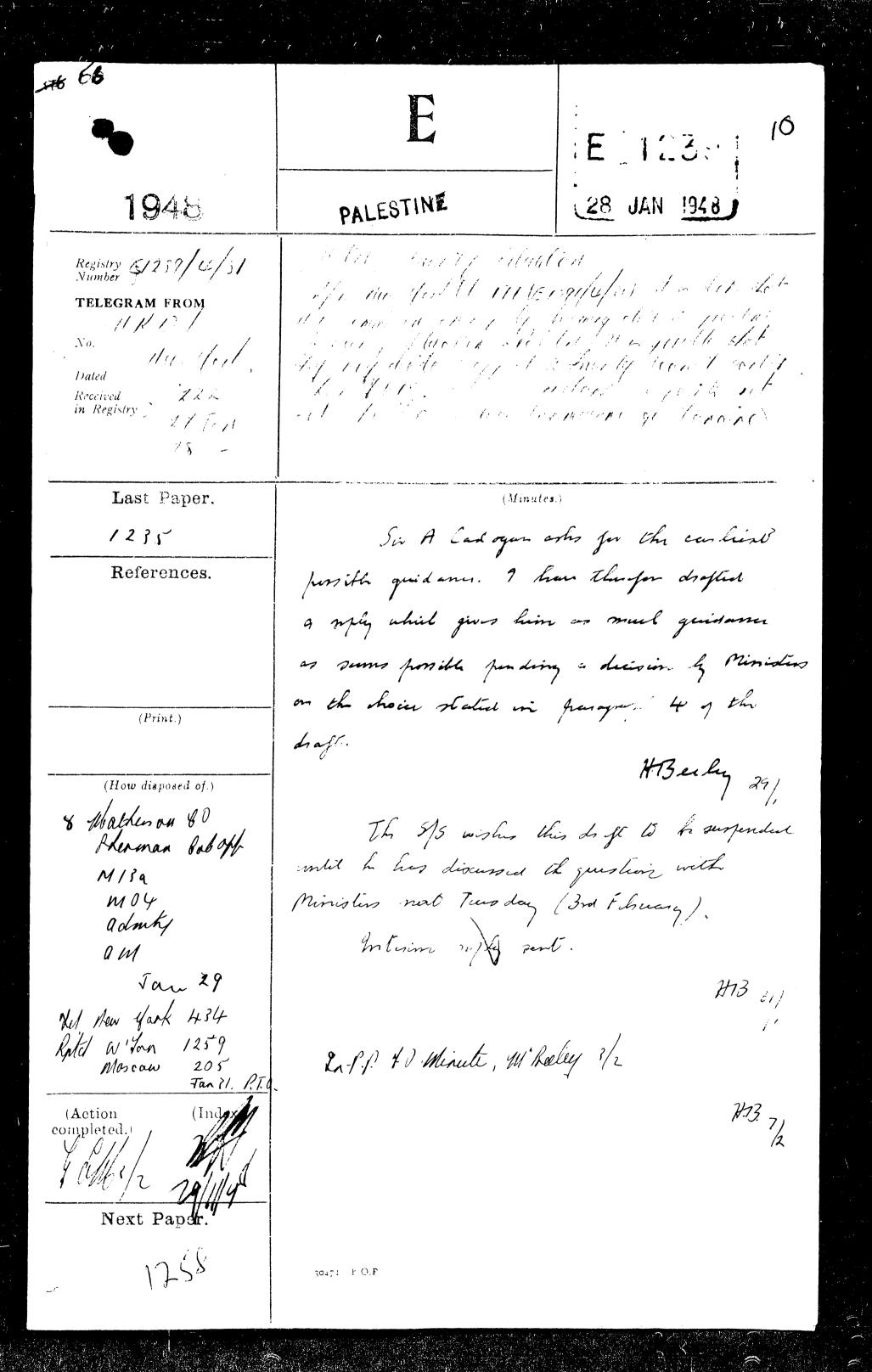
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British troops will not participate in international action to impose partition. On the other hand it is fairly certain that we shall not go to the length of using the veto in order to prevent such action. The outstanding question is whether we should maintain in the Security Council the neutral position we adopted at the Assembly, and play an entirely passive part in the discussion, or whether we should use our influence: more or less openly in favour of isolating the conflict in Palestine. I think you will find that the suggestion you make in paragraph 6 of your letter is adequately covered by the brief which we are sending in answer to your telegram No. 142.

I am sending copies of this letter to Allen in Washington and to Martin at the Colonial Office.

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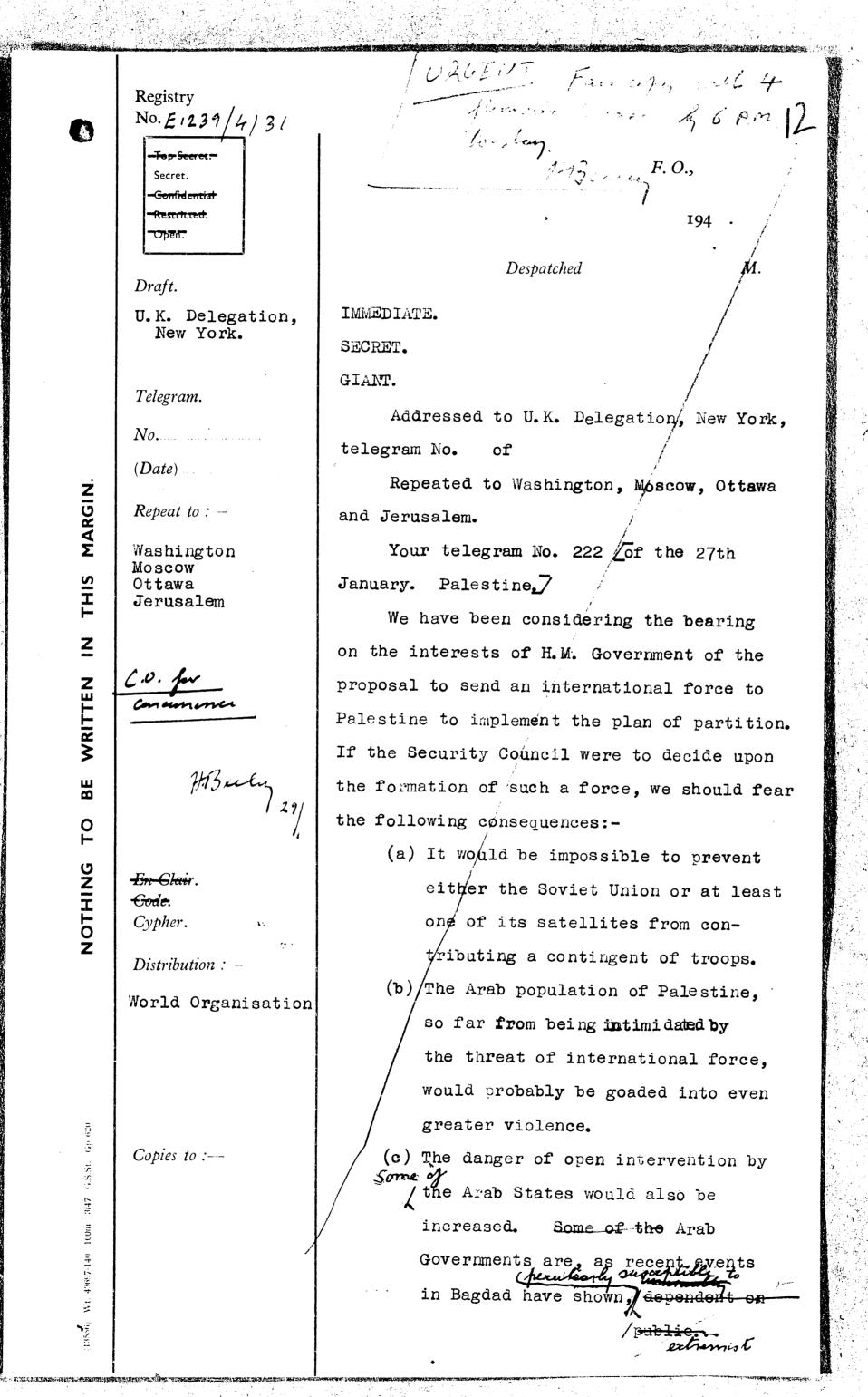
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Attached is the draft telegram to New York which the Secretary of State wished to defer sending until after he had consulted the Minister of Defence and the Colonial Secretary.

The Department's view is that the United Kingdom Delegation in New York should be authorised to warn friendly delegations in private of the dangers which we see in the idea of an international force for use in Palestine. It is probably too early to decide whether the Delegation should publicly oppose this idea or should remain outwardly neutral.

3rd February, 1948.

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(d) The success of the Marshall Plan
depends to a considerable extent
upon the uninterrupted flow of
oil from the Middle East to Europe.
Every extension of the conflict from
Palestine to neighbouring territories
would increase the threat to these
oil supplies.

The Soviet Union would be the only beneficiary both from the spreading of the conflagration in the Middle East and from the denial of oil to Western Europe.

- 2. We have consequently reached the conclusion that an attempt to enforce the General Assembly's decision on Palestine by military action would be contrary to vital British interests.
- of Palestine in the General Assembly we tried to impress on other delegations that it would be dangerous to adopt a policy which either Arabs or Jews would resist without at the same time providing means for its effective imposition. We insisted on this point because we wished the United Nations to be under no

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illusion as to the reality of our determination to withdraw our forces, because /it was our duty to warn them of the difficulties they were likely to encounter in Palestine, and because we hoped that the realisation of these difficulties would induce them not to adopt proposals which would arouse the irreconcilable antagonism of either Arabs or Jews. We do not consider that we are committed, by anything said during the Assembly, to supporting or approving an attempt/to impose by force the resolution adopted on the 29th November.

- 4. The choice before us is therefore not between abstaining and using our influence in favour of enforcement, but between abstaining and using our influence against it. The relative merits of the two latter courses are still under consideration here. _______ opening statement in your paragraph 6 suggests that the wisest policy might be to let matters take their course in the Security Council Without playing any very active part
- Council should not be left in ignorance of sekunik Situation as it is developing noté which you have already submitted to the Commission, on the security position in Palestine since the United Nations' decision, seems admirable for this purpose. No doubt you

We agree, however, that the Security

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/will...

will continue to keep the Commission informed on these lines and they will be able to pass on this material to the Security Council. Any material which you submit on this question should, of course, not be arafted with a view to encouraging the Security Council to take military action, In any event it does/not seem to us possible for the Security Council to reach a decision on the character, strength and composition of an international force, and for that force to be organised and deployed in Palestine, before/the last British troops leave the country on the 1st August. It appears from your paragraph 9 that you concur in this view. We should certainly not agree in any circumstances to postpone our departure in order to await the arrival of United Nations forces.

Stopport the infraitive ship the brevent when has now be one that the brevent of seeking an agreed alternative.

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FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 222

D. 9.00 p.m. 27th January 1948.

27th January 1948.

R. 3.20 a.m. 28th January 1948.

Repeated to Jorusalem Washington Ottawa Mozoow.

IMMEDIATE LIGHT GIANT

Addressed to Fereign Office telegram No. 222 of January 27th, repeated to Jerusalem, Washington, Ottawa and Mossow.

E North

My telegram No. 191 paragraph 4.

Palestine.

It is clear that United Nations Commission are rapidly becoming alive to problems of security situation in Palestine, which will be thrown into even greater relief by answers which we are expecting to their current questionnaire. It is therefore possible that they may decide to appeal to Security Council at an even earlier date than February 10th as at present intended.

- 2. I should therefore be grateful for any indication you can give me of your probable instructions in regard to:
- (a) necessity of previding a security force to implement partition and/or defend the Jewish State;
- (b) question of British participation in such a feree.
- 3. As regards (b) attitude of His Majesty's Government is, I understand, negative on the grounds
- (i) that there is no obligation to conform to directions of the Security Council until such time as Article 45 agreements are in being. (As explained in correspondence ending with Falla's letter to Mason No. 52/9/48 of January 11th, I am not altogether happy about this).
 - (11) that His Majesty's Government are therefore

free

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free to abide by their position that justice of partition scheme and degree of force which would be necessary are net such as would in their view justify their taking part in enferencent action.

- But whatever may be strength of our position under (b), I am perturbed by risk that if we adopt a noncommittal attitude on (a) we shall be accused of having failed to open the eyes of Commission and of United Nations as a whole to the full danger of the security situation and shall thus be held responsible for the chaos and bloodshed which will follow upon an attempt to implement the plan without sufficient ferees. Canadian Delegation in a resent discussion with us stressed this aspect of the matter. They recalled that during the Assembly they had found themselves alone in drawing attention to obvious gap in the plan as regards implementation, since United Kingdom Representatives refrained from taking sides, while United States Delegation deprecated discussion of implementation aspect and Soviet Delegation represented Canadian misgivings as part of a plot to defeat adoption of United Nations plan and thus maintain United Kingdom control in Palestine for an indefinite period. Canadian Delegation understood the reasons which had prompted His Majesty's Government's policy at that time, but they thought it. important that on this eccasion Commission and Security Council should be furnished with detailed evidence, which we slone were in a pesition to give, of danger of situation in Palestine and extent to which force would be needed not merely to implement partition but to preserve country from chaes.
- 5. As far as can be judged from talks with United States Delegation here, attitude of United States Government is no more realistic as regards implementation than it was last autum. Subject to any comment which His Majesty's Ambassader in Washington can effer, their intention seems te be te pursue an estrich pelicy for some months to come, in the hope that a Jewish State can be kept in being by means "short of war". As I understand it, they would not (repeat not) be prepared to provide forces to implement partition plan as such, and are indeed only mildly interested in aspects of that plan other than establishment of a Jewish State; but they would probably support prevision of a United Nations force to protect Jewish State against aggression from outside which might threaten its existence and prestige of the United Nations.
- 6. In these circumstances there seems little prespect of Security Council responding realistically to Counission's appeal for force; and I am inclined to consider that it would be best policy on our part, as well as our duty to the United Nations to take an early opportunity of presenting

security

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security situation in its true light in Security Council. It may be objected that by doing so we should be inviting the Council te call upon His Majesty's Government to provide forces or take other measures to assist in implementation. or possibly to defer termination of Mandate until a United Nations force can be get ready. But it would be spen to His Majesty's Government to reply that they have already berne more than their fair share of the burden; and I presume that in the last resort His Majesty's Government could refuse to participate in supplying a contingent. Whatever odium might accrue to us from such a course would in my opinion be less than that which would fellow if we allowed it to be said that we had shirked our responsibility of warning the Security Council (and the world at large) and so allowed it to plunge the Coumission's work, and thereby Palestine itself, inte ruin.

- 7. You may also wish to consider whether United States Government should be approached at a high level with a view to inducing in them a more realistic approach to the security problem. In this connexion Canadian Delegation asked whether His Majesty's Government had entered into any conversations with other permanent members of the Cauncil under Article 106 of the Charter. We replied that we know of none.
- 8. It is conscivable that United States Government, in their anxiety not to contribute United States troops and to exclude Soviet troops, might propose a force contributed by the smaller Powers. If that line were taken, we should be spared some embarrassment.
- 9. But I fear that, if any decision is taken to send an International force, we shall almost certainly be asked to defer date of termination of Mandate.
- 10. I shall of course be keeping in close touch with my United States and Canadian colleagues (and with other Commonwealth Representatives, particularly in view of possibility of a Special Assembly) and I should therefore be grateful for carliest possible guidance on points raised in this telegram.

Foreign Office please pass to Jerusalem, Ottawa and Meseew as my telegrams Nes. 38, 11 and 4 respectively.

[Copies sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office and Cypher Section Commonwealth Relations Office, Downing Street for retransmission to Jerusalem and Ottawa respectively].

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FOREIGN OFFICE,

s.W.1.

30th January, 1948.

Dear Wood,

I enclose a copy of a draft telegram which it is proposed to send in reply to telegram No. 222 from New York, and in which the Foreign Secretary would like the Minister of Defence's concurrence. The draft is also being cleared with the Colonial Secretary. I should be grateful if you will let me know as soon as possible whether Er. Alexander agrees with its terms.

Yours sincerely,

(SGB.) R. D. C. MCALPINE

R.F. Wood, Esq., winistry of Defence.

371/68531

Registry No. Secret. H.B. **Genfidential** Restricted. January, 1948. Despatched Draft. U.K. Delegation New York. SECRET GIANT. Telegram. 434 Addressed to U.K. Delegation, New York No. 435 telegram No. #34 of January 37 repeated for (Date) 9 a. 3) 3. information to Washington, Moscow, Ottawa and Repeat to :-Jerusalem. Washington, 1259 Your telegram No. 222 / of 27th January, Ottawa, Palestine, 7. Jerusalem. Following from Sargent. A MEINED IN DO Z The Secretary of State is at present out = 2 FLD 1948 of London. A meeting has been arranged on WRITTEN Tuesday morning, immediately after his return, at which Ministers will consider the problems H.Beeley 31 raised by your telegram. Meanwhile the only guidance I can offer you 9 is negative. I suggest that you should entirely reserve the position of H.M. Government in NOTHI Gode. Cypher. pullamight relation to the possible use of force by the United Nations to impose the General Assembly Distribution:--plan for Palestine, and that you should not World Organisation. either privately or publicly present the security situation in Palestine in such a way as to suggest that we are trying to persuade the Security Council to take any particular decision. Copies to:—

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Registry No. E 1239/4/51 KON SECTET. F. O., Konfidential Restricted. 194 . Open. Μ. DespatchedDraft. U.K. Delegation, IMMEDIATE New York SECRET Telegram. GIANT Addressed to U.K. Delegation, New York, (Date). telegram No. Repeat to:— Repeated to Washington, Moscow, Ottawa and Jerusalem. Washington Moscow Your telegram No. 222 Cof the 27th January. Ottawa Jerusalem Palestine_7 Z We have been considering the bearing on the interests of His Majest; 's Covernment of the proposal to send an international force to Palestine to implement the plan of partition. If the Security Coungil were to decide upon the formation of such a force, we should fear the following consequences:-(a) It would be impossible to prevent Code: either the Soviet Union or at least Cypher. one of its satellites from contributing Distribution: --a contingent of troops. World Organisation (b) The Arab population of Palestine, so far from being intimidated by the threat of international force, would probably be goaded into even greater violence. Copies to:-(c) The danger of open intervention by some of the Arab States would also be increased. Arab Governments are, as recent events in Bagdad have shown,

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illusion as to the reality of our determination to withdraw our forces, because it was our duty to warn them of the difficulties they were likely to encounter in Palestine, and because we hoped that the realisation of these difficulties would induce them not to adopt proposals which would arouse the irreconcilable antagonism of either Arabs or Jews. We do not consider that we are committed, by anything/said during the Assembly, to supporting or approving an attempt at this late date and in changed circumstances to impose by force the resolution adopted on the 29th November. 4. The choice before us is therefore not between abstaining and using our influence in

- 4. The choice before us is therefore not between abstaining and using our influence in favour of enforcement, but between abstaining and using our influence against it. The relative merits of the two latter courses are still under consideration here.
- Council should not be left in ignorance of the security situation as it is developing. The note which you have already submitted to the Commission, on the security position in Palestine since the United Nations' decision, seems admirable for this purpose. No doubt you will continue to keep the Commission informed on these lines and they will be able to pass on this material to the Security Council. Any material which you submit on this question should, of course, be drafted not so much with a view to encouraging the Security Council to take military action, as to bringing out/

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Registry No. E 1239/4/31 KON RECEIVED F. O., Konfidential Restricted. 194 . Spen. Despatched M. Draft. U.K. Delegation, IMMEDIATE New York SECRET GIANT Telegram. Addressed to U.K. Delegation, New York, (Date).telegram No. Repeat to: Repeated to Washington, Moscow, Ottawa and Jerusalem. Washington Moscow Your telegram No. 222 Zof the 27th January. Ottawa Jerusalem Palestine_7 Z We have been considering the bearing on WRITTEN the interests of His Majesty's Covernment of the proposal to send an international force to Palestine to implement the plan of partition. If the Security Coungil were to decide upon the formation of such a force, we should fear the following consequences:-En Glair. (a) It would be impossible to prevent Code. either the Soviet Union or at least Cypher. one of its satellites from contributing Distribution: --a contingent of troops. World Organisation (b) The Arab population of Palestine, so far from being intimidated by the threat of international force, would probably be goaded into even greater Copies to:violence. (c) The danger of open intervention by some of the Arab States would also be increased. Arab Governments are, as recent events in Bagdad have shown, peculiarly/

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peculiarly susceptible to extremist opinion, and it is probable that no Syrian or Iraqi Government could withstand popular clamour for intervention if a Security Council force were to arrive in Palestine.

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The Soviet Union would be the only beneficiary both from the spreading of the conflagration in the Middle East and from the denial of oil to Western Europe.

- 2. We have consequently reached the conclusion that an attempt to enforce the General Aseembly's decision on Palestine by military action would be contrary to vital British interests.
- J. It is true that during the discussion of Palestine in the General Assembly we tried to impress on other delegations that it would be dangerous to adopt a policy which either Arabs or Jews would resist without at the same time providing means for its effective imposition. We insisted on this point because we wished the United Nations to be under no illusion/

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illusion as to the reality of our determination to withdraw our forces, because it was our duty to warn them of the difficulties they were likely to encounter in ralestine, and because we hoped that the realisation of these difficulties would induce them not to adopt proposals which would arouse the irreconcilable antagonism of either Arabs or Jews. We do not consider that we are committed, by anything said during the Assembly, to supporting or approving an attempt at this late date and in changed circumstances to impose by force the resolution adopted on the 29th November.

- 4. The choice before us is therefore not between abstaining and using our influence in favour of enforcement, but between abstaining and using our influence against it. The relative merits of the two latter courses are still under consideration here.
- Council should not be left in ignorance of the security situation as it is developing. The note which you have already submitted to the Commission, on the security position in Palestine since the United Nations' decision, seems admirable for this purpose. No doubt you will continue to keep the Commission informed on these lines and they will be able to pass on this material to the Security Council. Any material which you submit on this question should, of course, be drafted not so much with a view to encouraging the Security Council to take military action, as to bringing out/

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the present plan and the consequent necessity of seeking an agreed alternative.

6. In any event it does not seem to us possible for the Security Council to reach a decision on the character, strength and composition of an international force, and for that force to be organised and deployed in Palestine, before the last British troops leave the country on the 1st August.

It appears from your paragraph 9 that you concur in this view. We should certainly not agree in any circumstances to postpone our departure in order to await the arrival of United Nations forces.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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Cypher/OTP Secret

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK

(To United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 434

31st January,1948 D. 2

D. 2.15 p.m. 31st January, 1948

Repeated to Washington No. 1259

Moscow No. 205

Ottawa

Jerusalem

MOST IMEDIATE

SECRET

GIANT

Addressed to United Kingdom Delegation, New York telegram No. 434 of January 31st repeated for information to Washington, Moscow, Ottawa and Jerusalem.

Your telegram No. 222 [of 27th January, Palestine].

Following from Sargent.

The Secretary of State is at present out of London. A meeting has been arranged on Tuesday morning, immediately after his return, at which Ministers will consider the problems raised by your telegram.

2. Meanwhile the only guidance I can offer you is negative. I suggest that you should entirely reserve the attitude of His Majesty's Government to the possible use of force by the United Nations to impose the General Assembly plan for Palestine, and that you should not either privately or publicly present the security situation in Palestine in such a way as to suggest that we are trying to persuade the Security Council to take any particular decision.

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Cypher/OTP

POLITICAL DISTRIBUTION

E 12.50

FROM BAGDAD TO FOREIGN OFFICE

D. 7.12 s.m. 28th January, 1948.

Mr. Busk,
No.113
27th January,1948.

R. 8.10 a.m. 28th January, 1948.

Repeated to Beirut,
Cairo,
Damascus,
Jedda,
Amman,

SAVING

B.M.E.O.Cairo, Jerusalem, Washington.

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No.113 of January 27th repeated Saving to Beirut, Caire, Damascus, Jedda, Amman, B.M.E.O.Cairo, Jerusalem and Washington.

SECRET.

E 904/2

Your telegram No.38 to Beirut.

From here scheme looks improbable, but I should expect Iraqi reactions to be more favourable to it than to any similar scheme involving other participants. Possible adverse reaction of King Abdullah might, however, have repercussions here: and I can only assume that supporters of Arab League would look askance at what would certainly be represented as Lebanese participation in implementation of partition.

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Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 228

D. 2.10 p.m. 28th January, 1948 R. 8.05 p.m. 28th January, 1948

28th January, 1948
Repeated Jerusalem,

Washington Saving,

E 12.77

IMMEDIATE
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LIGHT
GIANT

29 JAN 1948

Addressed Foreign Office telegram No. 228 of 28th January repeated Jerusalem and Saving to Washington.

Palestine.

I should be grateful for guidance as regards extent to which United Nations Commission should be provided with information available to His Majesty's Government on Palestine security Situation.

2. At present I am supplying Commission regularly with incident reports and casualty lists contained in en clair telegrams from Jerusalem and have also submitted to them a general summary of situation up to January 20th (forwarded to United Nations Department in document P/NY/2) based on material telegraphed by Jerusalem and intended for publicity. At my meeting with Commission at which I communicated summary questions were asked about His Majesty's Governments commitments to supply arms to Arab States and also attitude and intentions of Arab States vis à vis developments in Palestine. I naturally replied that I had no information to give the Commission on this latter point which was not pressed.

3. While however it seems clearly improper for His Majesty's Government to give information to the Commission about policies of Arab States a more difficult problem is raised by sections of Jerusalem intelligence reports which contain information about actual or suspected aid by Arab States to guerillas within Palestine: e.g. paragraphs 1 and 2 of weekly intelligence report in Jerusalem telegram to Colonial Office No. 174. It seems difficult to exclude such information if Commission are to be given a full and intelligent picture of situation within Palestine; yet to give it would put us in the position of informers against Arab States and might jeopardise our relations with those countries particularly if information supplied by us to the Commission were afterwards used against them in the Security Council.

4. A similar though perhaps lesser embarrassment arises in respect of information concerning Jewish military preparations and tactics, relationship among terroristic and other Jewish groups, etc. (e.g. paragraph 8

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of

of Jerusalem telegram already quoted). Here again it would be consonant with our undertakings towards the Commission to give them in confidence as much information as possible (provided that secrecy of our sources is not compromised). But there can be no guarantee that our confidence would be fully respected and there is a danger of our being represented by the ill-disposed as sabotaging military arrangements of future Jewish State.

- 5. In view of these pitfalls you may consider that Commission should be given no (repeat no) information on security matters which is not either public property or so general as not to compromise what may be regarded as military secrets of either side. But Commission may well press for fuller information and they may be on strong ground in invoking promise of His Majesty's Government to assist them with all information in their power.
- 6. I should therefore be grateful for your urgent observations as question may arise in the near future.

Foreign Office please pass immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 40.

[Copies sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

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odCRET

The Church House, Gt. Smith Street, London, S.A. 1.

24

January 31, 1948.

My Reference 75872/159/15.

Your Reference

My dear Bully,

I enclose a copy of telegram No. 226 from the High Commissioner for Palestine which I assume is intended to be a reply to New York telegram to Foreign Office No. 228. We are of course anxious to give the Johnsission as much information about the situation in Palestine as we reasonably can, particularly as the Jewish Agency is sedulously propagating their own version. You will notice, however, that the High Commissioner does not in his reply touch on what seem to us important aspects of this problem; he does not comment on para. 3 of the New York telegram about passing on to the Commission our information regarding actual or suspected aid by arab states to guerillas in Palestine nor does he indicate in any way a regard for the security of the sources of the information contained in his telegrams. Perhaps you will undertake to send a telegram to New York on the first of these points if you would wish to see any restriction placed on the madiation of such information. On the second point, if you agree, we propose to telegraph to Palestine saying that we share their view that as much information as possible should be given to the Commission in confidence but that it might be well to indicate in future telegrams any points which cannot be communicated to them without compromising the source.

/If

H. baalay, على و كالمائية

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If you think any guidance on the first point is required by New York it would probably be best to telegraph immediately as they may well be acting on the High Commissioner's telegram which has been addressed to them.

Journ ever, Eist Vallusin

(W.n.C. Mathieson)

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INWARD TELEGRAM



TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

28

Cypher (0.T.P.)

PROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 30th January, 1948.
R. 30th

14.00 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

Mo. 226 Secret.

Addressed to U.K. Delegation New York No. 239 (Washington please pass).

Repeated to S. of S.

Washington, No. 46.

Since the Commission have no source of their own and since we knew that the Jewish Agency are feeding them and the Security Council with distorted versions of the security situation in Palestine, it seems to me important that the Commission should be given in confidence all factual information on this subject which we telegraph to New York, and which you consider is necessary to give them a full and intelligent picture. Unless this is done, the Commission are surely at the mercy of propaganda and rumour. Ends.

Copies sent to:-

Foreign Office

Communications Department. Mr. H. Beeley.

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Registry No. E 1277/4/31 Secret. Restricted. 2nd February 1948.

Draft. telegram U.K. Delegation, New Kork

Telegram.

(Date) feb 2

Repeat to: Jerusalem Washington /342

Cypher.

Distribution: World Organisation

Copies to:—

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Addressed to United Kingdom Delegation New York telegram 465 of 2 repeated to Jerusalem and Washington. Your telegrams No. 228 and 239.

I agree that you could not properly provide the commission with information/of the attitude and policies of Arab Governments.

On the other hand you are the Commission's proper source for information on the situation within the frontiers of Palestine, and there can be no reasonable objection to yourgiving them information about Arab as well as Indeed it is to Jewish activities there. the interests of the Arabs themselves that the prejudiced accounts given to the Commission by the Jewish Agency should be corrected by an objective statement of the facts.

Furthern our confirmation to the Commission that there have been incursions actross the frontier may have a slight deterrent effect on the Governments from whose territory the Arab bands enter Palestine.

You should, of course, confine yourself to factual statements, omitting those parts of Jerusalem telegrams which are speculative in character or quite obviously based on intelligence rouses which & Thus/Jerusalem telegram No. 174 (the example used in your telegram)

you would presumably pass on a brief summary of paragraph 1 omitting in particular

371/68531

the passage about the German officer, the sentence next following and the last two sentences. Paragraph 2 would be omitted as wholly speculative. There would be no objection to the use of paragraph 3. Decisions in detail must be left to your discretion, but the above may be useful as general guidance. Jerusalem telegram No. 226 to your should also be helpful.

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FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO HER YORK.

(To United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations).

No. 455.

2nd February, 1948.

D. 9.40 p.m. 2nd February, 1948.

Repeated to Jerusalem Via C.R.O. and Washington No. 1542.

SECRET. GIANT.

No. 400 of 2nd February, repeated for Information to Jerusalem and Washington.

Your telegrams Nos. 228 and 259.

I agree that you could not properly provide the commission with information on the attitude and policies of Arab Governments.

- source for information on the situation within the frontiers of Palestine, and there can be no reasonable objection to your giving them information about Arab as well as Jewish activities there. Indeed it is to the interests of the Arabs themselves that the prejudiced accounts given to the Commission by the Jewish Agency should be corrected by an objective statement of the facts. Furthermore our confirmation to the Commission that there have been incursions across the frontier may have a slight deterrent effect on the Governments from whose territory the Arab bands enter Palestine.
- factual statements, omitting those parts of Jerusalem telegrams which are speculative in character or quite obviously derived from intelligence sources which should not be compromised. Thus in Jerusalem telegram No. 174 (the example used in your telegram) you would presumably pass on a brief summary of paragraph 1 omitting in particular the passage about the German officer, the sentence next following and the last two sentences. Paragraph 2 would be omitted as wholly speculative. There would be no objection to the use of paragraph 3.
- 4. Decisions in detail must be left to your discretion, but the above may be useful as general guidance. Jerusalem, telegram No. 226 to you should also be helpful.

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PROLENT. YOLL TO MOLLIGH OFFICE.

(From United Linguom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 236

J. 8.40 p.m. 23th January 1948 R. 2.15 a.m. 29th January 1948

28th January 1948.

our canualy 1040.

Repeated to Jerusalem Saving.

GI IT. SICRIT.

Addressed to Poreign Office telegram No. 236 of January 28th repeated for information to Jerusalem and Saving to Washington.

Your telegram No. 295: British personnel of Salestine Solice Force.

In informal conversation today, following communication to him as in last sentence of your paragraph 2, Bunche asked whether objection would be raised to British police personnel volunteering after termination of their contracts for service with Commission or even with arab or Jewish States or organisations.

2. I should be grateful for earliest advice as to reply. If the answer is affirmative, could Jerusalem please give any estimate that may be possible as to numbers likely to volunteer?

Foreign Office please pass to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 42.

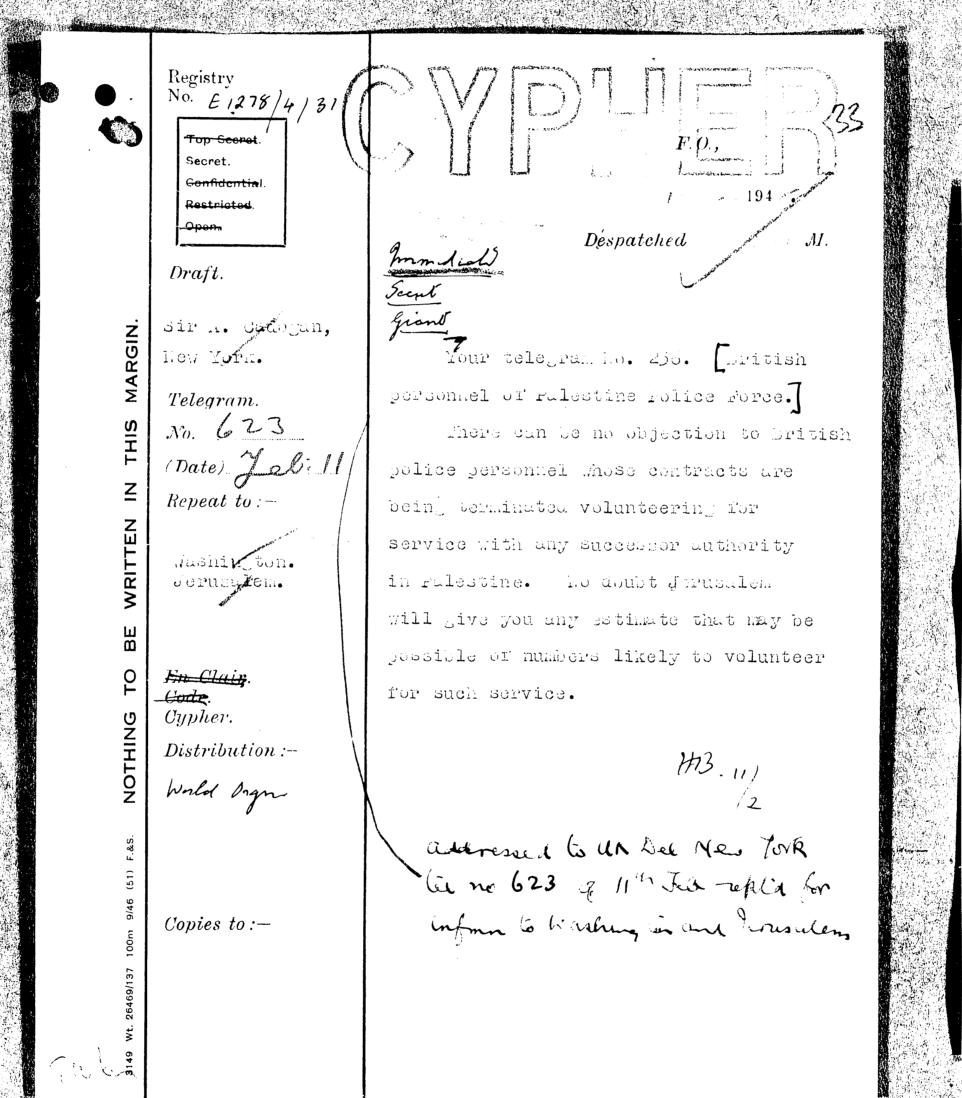
[Copies sent to Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

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FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK

(To United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations).

No. 623

D. 9.38 p.m. 11th February, 1948.

11th February, 1948.
Repeated to Washington No. 1716
Jerusalem.

IMLEDIATE

SECRET

GIANT

Addressed to United Kingdom Delegation New York

telegram No. 623 of 11th February repeated for information
to Washington and Jerusalem.

Your telegram No. 236. [British personnel of Palestine Police Force].

There can be no objection to British police personnel whose contracts are being terminated volunteering for service with any successor authority in Palestine. No doubt Jerusalem will give you any estimate that may be possible of numbers likely to volunteer for such service.

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WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 238 28th January, 1948

D. 8.48 p.m. 28th January, 1948 R. 2.16 a.m. 29th January, 1948

Repeated to Jerusalem Washington Saving

IMMEDIATE
GIANT
SECRET

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 238 of 28th January repeated to Jerusalem and Saving to Washington.

My telegram No. 228.

Palestine.

My immediately following telegram contains text of letter received from Commission today regarding incursion of armed Arab bands into Palestine.

- 2. Reference is made to the activities of these bands in paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of the Weekly Intelligence Appreciation (telegram from High Commissioner to Colonial Office No. 174) and under heading paragraph 3D of telegram from High Commissioner to Colonial Office No. 181.
- 3. Please instruct urgently in light of my telegram under reference whether Commission should be given information referred to in paragraph 2 above together with any further specific replies to the points raised in Commission's letter.

Please repeat to Jerusalem Immediate as my telegram No. 44.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem]

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

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Typer (C.P.P.)

19576, 1909 N. 46

TO PALESTINE (General Sir A. Cunningham)
Sent 2nd February, 1948 00.30 hrs.

IMMIDIATE

No.420 Secret.

Addressed High Commissioner, Palestine. Repeated UKDEL, New York Brief No. 24.

Your telegram No. 226, addressed UKDEL No. 239.

I presume from your telegram that you would see no objection to communicating in confidence to Commission information on the passage of armed band from Trans-Jordan referred to in New York telegram to Foreign Office Nc. 238 repeated to you. War Office signal 5061/GI. from C.-in-C. M.E.L.F., of 28th January suggests that band has now dispersed from Tubas to villages in Nablus-Janin area and is therefore presumably no longer formed body susceptible either of withdrawal from Palestine or dispersal by military action. Grateful for earliest possible information which is also urgently required by New York, on present position of this force.

(Copies sent to Foreign Office for onward transmission to New York).

Distributed to:Foreign Office
War Office (M.O.4.)

Mr. H. Beeley. Lt. Col. Charteris. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE ROSSING STATES AND STAT

PALESTIN

E_1280 JAN 1948

Registry Number E1280/4/31

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WORLD ORGANIS TION DISCRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE. (From United Kingdom Delegation to United Mations)

Sir A. Cadogan, No.239

D: 9.00 p.m. 28th January, 1948

28th January, 1948.

R: 3.30 a.m. 29th January, 1948.

Repeated to Jerusalem Washington Saving.

E 1280

IMMEDIATE. GLANT. SECRET.

(29 JAN 1948)

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 239 January 28th 1948 repeated to Jerusalem and Saving to Washington.

My immediately preceding telegram. Palestine.

Following is text referred to.

[Begins].

I have the honour to inform you that the United Nations Palestine Commission has received from the representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine a copy of the text of a cable reading as follows:-

"January 27th, 1948. Cable to Shertok.

Seven hundred fifty well-armed Arabs - the largest single concentration to invade Palestine - massed at Tubas, northeast of Mablus, on Saturday. Led by Iraqians, the force consisted mainly of Syrians and returning Palestinians. Reported to have come by way of Transjordan, the Arab troops entered forded points below the Beisan valley to avoid Jewish settlements and Maganah spotters. Previous bands have infiltrated through the northern frontiers. The Arabs were well armed with rifles, mortars, machine guns and grenades and wore uniforms purchased in the Middle East from United Scates Government surplus stocks. A spokesman for the group's commander, denying a report that they had brought in Bren carriers, stated: "We don't need them." Although the Palestine Government has refused to reply to questions from newspapermen, it is known that the British Colonial Office was informed about this latest move into Palestine. Unconfirmed reports state that after the infiltration, units of the Sixth Airborne moved into the Hablus area to check any further progress of the Arab force. Tubas has long been described as the mobilisation point of Arab volunteer forces. A Palcor news agency correspondent reports seeing a photograph taken in Mablus of a young Iraqi officer in a G.I. uniform who supposedly was a member of the group which invoded Saturday. The officer is reported to have soken to a member of the Associated Fress at Mablus."

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The Commission, at its Twenty-second meeting on 27th January, 1948, directed me to communicate to you the text of this cable and to inquire of you whether your Government is in possession of information which would confirm the statements set forth therein; to ask whether your Government will make available to the Commission any information on the matter which it may have; and to invite from you any comments on the report which you may wish to present.

[Ends].

Foreign Office please repeat to Jerusalem Immediate as my telegram No.45.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

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El CLAIR

DEPARTMENTAL.

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United 126 tors)

No: 255

0.8.30.p.m.28th January 1948

28th January 1948

R.1.48.a.m.29th January 1948

INDIATE

of 28th January repeated to Foreign Office and Saving to Washington.

Following for Gurney from Flatcher Cooke. [Begins].

Please refer to Part 1 Section B paragraph 4 of the General Assembly's plan of partition with economic union (page 5) of ./5167.

- 2. Bunche has informed me that commission would be grateful for a list of "the democratic parties and other public organisations of the Trab and Jewish States" which it would be appropriate for the commission to consult in addition to the Jewish gency, together with any observations on these organisations you may consider it desirable to make.
 - Grateful for the information as soon as possible.
 Foreign office please pass to Colonial Office.
 [Emds].

[Copies sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for transmission to Jerusalem].

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En Clair

DEPARTMENTAL |

FROM N.W YORK TO FOREIGH OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United National)

No. 242

D. 9.22 p.m. 28th January, 1948.

28th January, 1948.

R. 3.32 a.m. 29th January, 1948.

Addressed to Jerusalem telegram No.46 of

28th January repeated to Foreign Office.

Following for Gurney from Fletcher Cooke.

[Begins].

Your telegram No. 210.

United Kingdom Delegation Public Relations Officer has now had opportunity of conveying to the press the facts regarding the position in the old city of Jerusalem.

[Ends].

Foreign Office please pass to Colonial Office.

[Copies sent to Telegraphic Section Colonial Office for transmission to Jerusalem. Copy sent to Middle East Secretariat].

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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

1288 4

Cypher(O.T.P.)

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 26th January, 1948. R. 26th " 19.20 hrs.

No.193 Confidential

Addressed to UKDEL New York, No.210 (Washington please pass).

Repeated to S. of S.

Following for Fletcher-Cooke from Gurney. Bogins:

Many thanks for your informative letters of 13th

January and 15th January, received today. We are answering
your telegrams as soon as possible.

- 2. Could UKDEL Public Relations Officer help in making facts known, particularly regarding old City of Jerusalem, at present subject of strong Jewish propaganda, by pointing out that:-
- (a) Tension in Old City is being maintained by presence of Hagana and Irgun, who are districted by Araba, and endeavous to control food distribution to Jewish community there who would be happy to be Left alone under protection of 100 British theore now guarding them.
- (b) But for Army convoys and protection this community would no longer be there;
- (c) Thesecurity of Jews in respect of access to Walling Wall and other parts of Old City is due to Jewish bomb outrages and Damasous and Jaffa gates;
- (d) This problem can be settled by peaceful means only and not by violence.
- 3. Since Jewish Agency have openly threatened to blast a way in and seem to be preparing ground by usual false propaganda, we ought to be doing semething now to make facts known. For full details see our telegram No.138 repeated to Colonial Office No.118. Ends.

Copies sent to:-

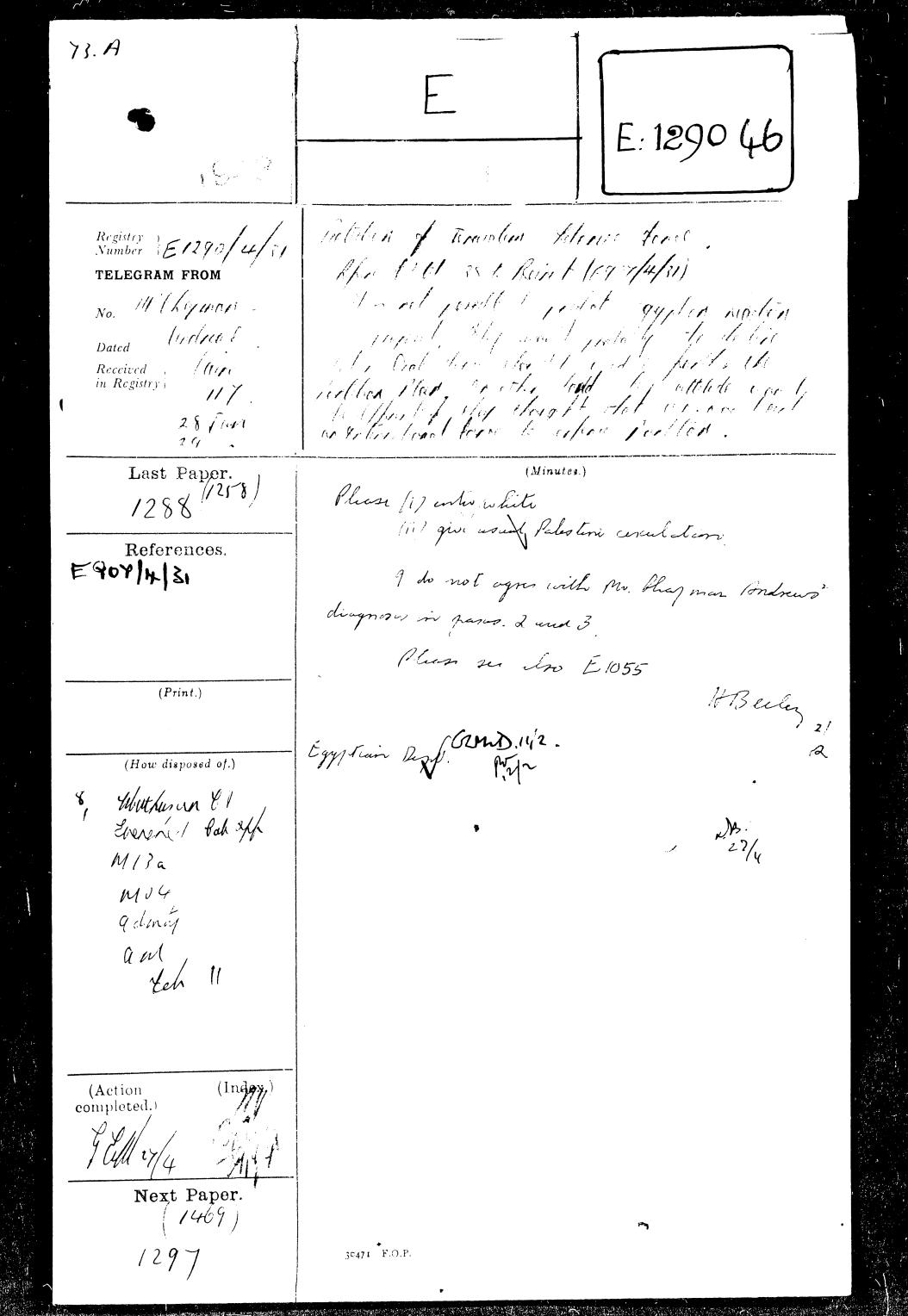
Foreign Office

Communications Divisions

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Cypher/OTP

DIPLOMATIC (SECRET)

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Chapman Andrews
No. 117
28th January, 1948

D. 7.36 p.m. 28th January, 1948 R. 8.30 p.m. 28th January, 1948

Repeated to Beirut
Bagdad
Damascus
Jedda
Jerusalem
Amman
Washington

IMPORTANT

TOP SECRET

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 117 of 28th January repeated to Beirut, Bagdad, Damascus, Jedda, Jerusalem, Amman and Washington.

Your telegram No. 38 to Beirut.

It is not possible to predict what the Egyptian reaction would be though it is safe to say that they would not be enthusiastic. Egypt regards herself as the leader of the Arab League so has to be looking over her shoulder all the time at the other members in a matter of this sort. The League does not accept partition so Egypt would almost certainly take the line that no Arab Force should be employed furthering the partition plan. Indeed they might say that any troops the Lebanese could spare would be better employed fighting the Jews.

2. The attitude of the Egyptian Government would almost certainly be different if they thought that the United Nations were resolved to implement the partition decision by sending an International Force to Palestine to enforce it. If they saw that the United Nations really meant business in this way, they might even be quite glad to take the lead in accepting the existence

This impurso

of the new Jewish state, giving way to an International force majeure and thus saving their faces. The Egyptians are beginning to realise that making speeches and passing resolutions and even raising money for Palestine is one thing and fighting quite another.
Doubts are spreading about the ability of the Arabs to turn the Jews out. They might therefore in their hearts welcome firm action by the United Nations and in that case might look with favour upon some such proposal as the present one until International Forces could take over. It must be added however that the Egyptians (and perhaps any Arab Government) might find it extremely difficult under any circumstances to take the lead in acknowledging the existence of a Jewish State for this would be a powerful weapon in the hands of the opposition which might well make it impossible for the Government to carry the policy through or even remain in office.

Arabs could once be brought to accept the existence of a Jewish State they would then naturally concentrate their attention upon the future of such a State i.e. preventing its expansion and in that task they would undoubtedly welcome the prospect of British assistance which Treaties of Alliance between Britain and Arab States would provide. Strong United Nations action in Falestine might well therefore confer a double benefit upon us.

Foreign Office please pass to mashington as my telegram No. 3.

[Repeated to mashington]
[Copy sent to Middle East Secretariat]

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(

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL

FROM BRITISH MIDDLE EAST OFFICE CAIR TO FOREIGN OFFICE

No. 39
29th January, 1948
Repeated to Jerusalem, R. 7.19 p.m. 29th January, 1948

IMMEDIATE

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No.39 of January 29th repeated to Jerusalem.

Azzam Pasha today said that he had received numerous reports that the Jews were planning some coup against Jaffa, whether by Hagana or terrorists he did not know. Nor did he know if there was any truth in the reports. He asked however whether since he understood that British troops had left Jaffa-Tel-Aviv area it would be possible to station some of the Arab Legion there to give reassurance and protection to the Arabs of Jaffa until such time at least as the Legion was withdrawn from Palestine if this was to happen.

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371/6853

INWARD TELEGRAM

COLONIES . 2

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

Cyphor(0.7.P.)

1294/4/21

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 9th February, 1948 R. 9th " 16.05 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 327

Addressed to B.M.E.O. Cairo No. 25. Repeated to the S. of S.

Your telegram addressed to the Foweign Office No. 39 repeated to me No. 10.

We have no information to confirm the report that Jews are planning a coup against Jaffa. It is not possible to contemplate stationing of Arab Logion Unit in Jaffa. These troops are employed in purely defensive role, usually as static guards on military stores and installations.

2. There are two companies of British troops stationed in Jaffa,

Copy sent to:

Foreign Office

Communications Dept.

FO

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TH-

The Church House, Great Smith Street, 5.7.1.

Your Reference

<u>Secret</u> Immediate

be -

E 150.

30 JAN 1948 Jun Burnsmy

My dear Worght.

You may remember that at the end of our discussion with Sir Alan Burns about the proposed Statute For Jerusalem on the 14th January, I raised the question of the future of Jerusalem between the end of the mandatory regime and the establishment of effective international control. I am afraid we have not yet been able to prepare the draft paper on the subject which we undertook to submit to you for comment, but in the meantime Lloyd has received the personal letter from the High Commissioner, of which I enclose a copy, and it seems desirable to have a further discussion with Burns before he leaves for Kew York next week.

We should be very grateful if you could come or send a representative to a meeting with Burns in my room on Fridey morning, 30th January, at II o'clock. Perhaps you will be good enough to confirm on the telephone that this is convenient.

The principal points to be discussed will

i) the timing of the Governor's arrival,

ii)

Hichael Aright, Esq., CMG.

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ii) the Gevernor's suggestion regarding the Consulate guards; and

iii) what steps we can properly take to assist in the formation of an international Police Force for Jerusalem.

RECEIVED IN O.E. F 28 JAN 1918 (J.M. Lartin)

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE Reference:
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dovernment House, Jerusalem.

54

15th January 1940.

Dear Lloya:

- 1. I am writing a note to you on a subject which is causing the some concern at the present time, namely my great anxiety that there should be some organisation in being to look after Jerusalem when we go.
- 2. To my mind there are two minimum requirements. The first that the Governor should be appointed and present when we leave here, the second that there should be some form of security force in being.
- 3. Regarding the Governor. At first I thought that the fact that the Jerusalem problem had been hands over to the Trusteeship Council might give it a status rather outside the ULO Jommissio: and that therefore any arrangements made here for the establishment of Jerusalem State might escape the obloquy and resulting violence which will undoubtedly attach itself to the Commission itself. I had hoped therefore that it would be possible to get on with the actual formation of the State here earlier than the date to be scheduled for the arrival of the Uno Commission. There is no doubt, however, that, although the internationalising of Jerusalem will not in itself cause so much dissatisfaction amongst the Arabs as the partitioning of Palestine, yet the Arabs claim the whole of Palestine including Jerusalem and in their present inflamed condition I could not guarantee that an early start to hand over Jerusalem would not result in added outbreaks of violence. Moreover I imagine that the setting up of the Jerusalem State will have to be very closely integrated with the work of the Commission and may even be carried out under their supervision, this would also aggravate the situation. On further reflection therefore I have come to the conclusion that it would be unwise to allow the Governor of Jerusalem in any sooner than the Commission itself.

There is however a very great deal for him to do before he comes here and his very early appointment seems most desirable. Is there any need to delay it?

4. Of the immediate tasks facing him the one of first importance and urgency would appear to be the question of security. The UNO report recommends a police force recruited outside ralestine, and with this recommendation I am in thorough agreement though there appears no re son why it should not also recruit arab and Jewish police for work in wholly arab and Jewish areas respectively. I assume the term "outside Palestine" would not preclude volunteers from the present British Police of whom I believe a number would come forward.

The situation at present is that we are forming an Arab municipal Police Force in Jerusalem, and the Jews have their Hagana, some of whom could no doubt be recognised by the Governor in due course as the Jewish Police.

As rar as the international force is concerned it seems to me that unless arrangements are commenced to get it toegher at once, there is not the slightest chance of it being ready by the time we leave. I do not know what form it will take, but there is a development here which might have some bearing on it andwhich possibly could

SIR PROMES LLOYD, Chick.

371/6853

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be made use of in connection with it. The Jonsulates here are practically all making arrangements to bring in Consular Guards either from the Armed Forces of their countries or by recruitment amongst their nationals. For instance the American Consul General has asked for juite a large number of marines. It had therefore occurred to me that an International Force of some kind might be arrived at through an expansion of this scheme. Such a system would have one considerable advantage, for there is no Russian Consulate here, though there are of course Consulates from some of Russia's satelites. On the other hand there is a number of representatives from the Arab states and there might be difficulty in excluding their guards from any scheme. There does however seem a possibility of some of the powers represented here being asked to expand their guards and to place them in emergency at the disposal or the Chief of Folice of Jerusalem for police duties including of course the protection of their own Consulates.

whether this scheme can be developed or not, in view of the importance of having the security force in being when the dovernor takes over, I believe some way should be found of forming and training it in Palestine beforehand.

5. These remarks at this stage can only be on the broadest lines as we here do not know the actail of the foundation on which it is intended to build. I am sure however that we will all be agreed on one fundamental point. It is unthinkable that Jerusalem should just be left to become a cockpit of internicine strike and that the hely Jity should lapse into a pitched battlefield. It is for this remson that I would again stress the paramount importance of immediate planning analytion to prevent such a catastrophe.

6. I am sending a copy of this letter to Sir Llan burns.

Yours sincerely,

(5GD) A. Cunningham.

371/6853

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E 1380

PALESTINE

31 JAN 1948 56

Registry Number E1380/4/21

TELEGRAM FROM

UKKA Hew York.

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Next Paper.

1383

See also E 1278. The C.O. han Jupared the Marked drafts, and the Ministry of Defence have approved them. I have suggested some amendments in pencil.

Tolo. senv.

9n. P.P. W.O. S. ywather on 80. 45872/15-9/15 9/2 4-W Beeley.

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Kel, New Yark 622 Roll, W'Yor 1715

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Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 267.

D. 9.20. p.m. 30th January
1948

30th January 1948.

R. 3.10. a.m. 31st January
1948

Repeated to Jerusalem,
Washington, Saving.

E_1380

<u>IMMEDIATE</u>

31 JAN 1948

GIANT

JI OMN 1340

Addressed Foreign Office telegram 267 January 30th repeated to Jerusalem and saving to Washington.

SECRET

Your telegram 401. - E

Replies on lines indicated were read to Commission this afternoon. Atmosphere, as previously, was cordial though it was clear that Commission saw considerable difficulties in some of the answers given.

- 2. Points arising out of answer to Question A.2 on Transjordan Frontier Force are being dealt with in a separate telegram.
- 3. Federspiel enquired as to precise definition of "areas in which General Officer Commanding may need to exercise his overriding military jurisdiction". Point arose from answers given both to Questions A.1 and A.9, and he seemed to be in doubt whether "attack on British forces remaining in Palestine" in answer to Question A.9 meant the same thing as an attack on areas to be proclaimed by General Officer Commanding. Reply was given that United Kingdom Delegation had no precise instructions, but that the directive to General Officer Commanding when received and communicated to Commission would probably help in clearing it up.
- 4. Chairman saw particular difficulty in reply given to question B.2 in regard to overlap of a fortnight. After

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he had remarked that, if period could not be extended, Commission would be bound to refer the point to the Security Council, some discussion followed and Philippine Delegate reserved his position. Commission finally undertook to send a formal communication on the subject.

- 5. On the same point, Panamanian Delegate asked whether, if the Commission decided to go to Palestine earlier than May 1st, mandate would be terminated earlier.
- 6. On Question B.3 discussion centred round passage in separate memorandum given to the Commission indicating that no objection would be seen "to the arrival in Palestine, as soon as may be convenient, of one or two members of the Commission's secretariat staff". Commission wished to know whether "one or two" was to be taken literally and finally undertook to indicate how many they had in mind for the advance party. In this connexion, Bolivian Delegate asked whether, if it was decided (whether by the Commission or the Security Council was not clear) to send military observers to make an assessment of the security position before the date of termination of the mandate, such observers would be admitted and given access to security intelligence and information.
- 7. Following answer given to question B.5(B) in regard to establishment of Provisional Councils of Government, Federspiel asked for further information as to the extent to which the Councils would be permitted to take steps towards, for example, creation of preliminary organisations of militias short of their actual embodiment as military forces, or to enter into contracts before the termination of the mandate in respect of food supplies for period subsequent to termination.
- 8. When asked to define precisely what the Commission had in mind in referring to "machinery of information" (Question B.12), Commission undertook to submit a separate questionnaire on various technical matters.
- 9. Substance of your telegram No. 395 on status of Palestinian personnel was included in answer given to question B.14. Federspiel called attention to what he described as a fundamental question of principle, whether the "State of Palestine" comes to an end with the termination of the mandate. He himself considered that, notwithstanding the termination of the mandate and the

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Men.

mandatory administration, "State of Palestine" continued. He stressed the fundamental importance of the problem and said that he proposed to take it up with the Commission's legal advisers.

10. Grateful for guidance as to further answers to be given to the Commission on the above points.

11. Chairman concluded meeting by saying that he had charged the Philippine Delegate to discuss establishment of militias with the United Kingdom Delegation, Panamanian Delegate to discuss the disposal of illegal immigrants now held in Cyprus and allied questions, and Danish Delegate, devolution of authority from Central Government to municipalities.

Please repeat immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 51.

[Capy sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for transmission to Jerusalem.]

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المائد المائد المائد

The Church House, Gt. smith street, London, S.M. 1.

Pobruary 9, 1940.

Your Reference

My Reference .. 7.507.4/1.59/1.

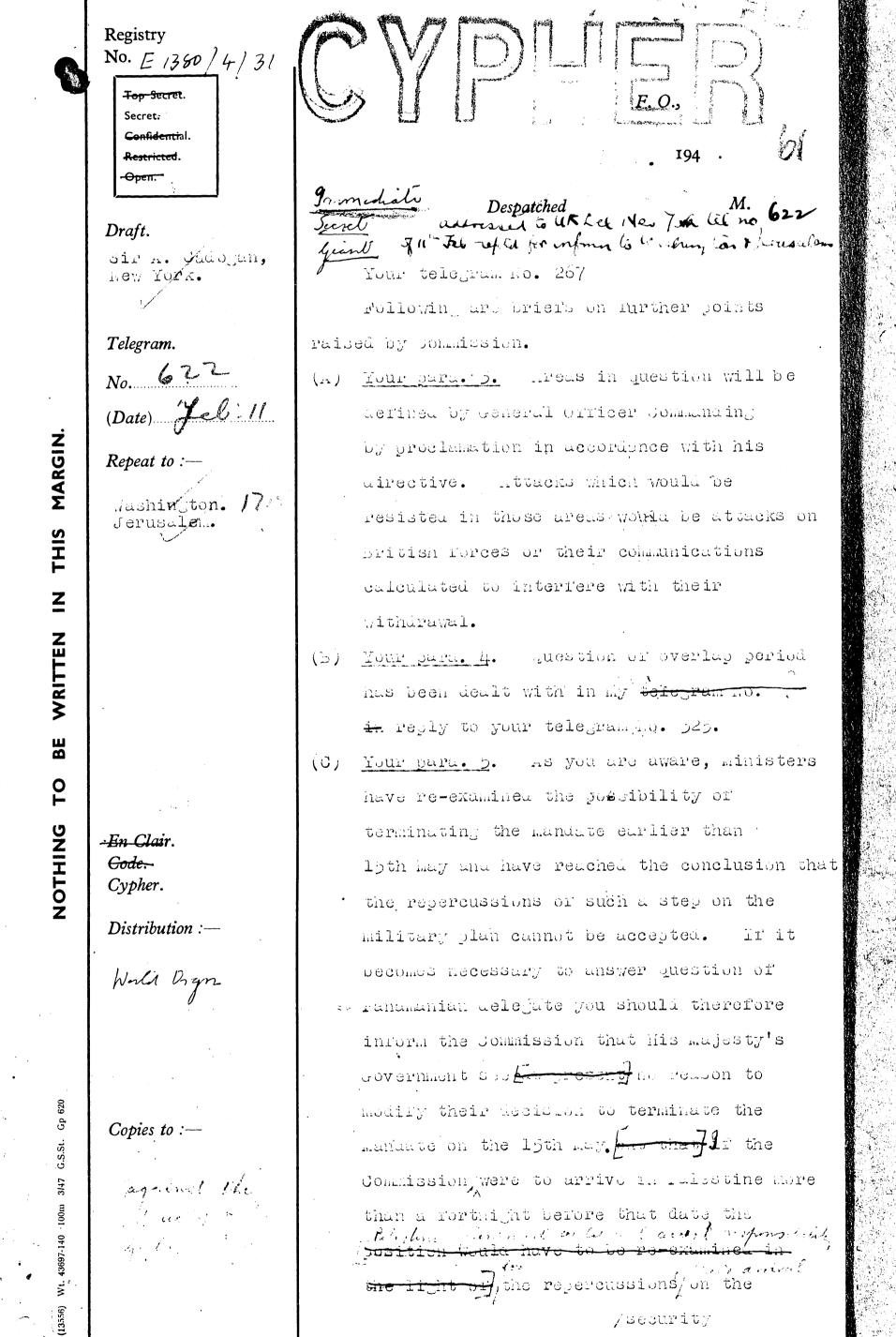
My Dea Bula,

I enclose drafts in reply to telegrams hos. 250 and 267 from New York to dereign Ullice. These aralis have been cleared by my secretary of state subject to the approval or the roroign accretary and minister of Defence.

At the suggestion or our private Orrice, I am sending cogies or the draft replies to wood at the ministry of Derence.

(......... mathieson)

m. bullet, lion., Jbd.



security situation (after the Commission's arrival)

- informed the Johnnission that we are ready to grant all reasonable facilities for a nucleus of the Commission's staff to visit Palestine well in advance of 1st hay and I assume that it has been made clear that "one or two" need not be taken literally. On the question of military observers we should like to have the views of the High Commissioner for Palestine before replying.
- Your para. 7. It has already been made clear to the Commission that Councils cannot exercise any authority prior to termination of the mandate. Subject to that qualification preliminary measures by the Commission with a view to the establishment of the Councils after the termination of the mandate would be permissable.
- Problem we should be glad to know in what torms it has been formulated by the dominission's Legal advisors. Wase

Jan. Later man Jan. 375 mar 375.

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NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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Cypher/OTP E1380/4/31 Secret

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK

(To United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 622 11th February, 1948.

D. 12.10 a.m. 12th February, 1948.

Repeated to Washington No. 1715

Jerusalem

IMMEDIATE
SECRET
GLANT

Addressed to United Kingdom Delegation New York telegram No. 622 of 11th February repeated for information to Washington and Jerusalem.

Your telegram No. 267.

Following are briefs on further points raised by Commission.

- (A) Your paragraph 3. Areas in question will be defined by General Officer Commanding by proclamation in accordance with his directive. Attacks which would be resisted in those areas would be attacks on British forces or their communications calculated to interfere with their withdrawal.
- (B) Your paragraph 4. Question of overlap period has been dealt with in my reply to your telegram No. 325.
- (C) Your paragraph 5. As you are aware, ministers have re-examined the possibility of terminating the mandate earlier than 15th may and have reached the conclusion that the repercussions of such a step on the military plan cannot be accepted. If it becomes necessary to answer question of Panamanian delegate you should therefore inform the Commission that His majesty's Government see no reason to modify their decision to terminate the Mandate on the 15th may. If the Commission against the advice of His majesty's Government, were to arrive in Palestine more than a fortnight before that date the Palestine Government could not accept responsibility for the repercussions of their arrival on the security situation.
- (D) Your paragraph 6. You have no doubt already informed the Commission that we are ready to grant all reasonable facilities for a nucleus of the Commission's staff to visit Palestine well in advance of 1st may and I assume that it has been made clear that "one or two" need not be taken literally.

T Samuel

371/685

COPYRIGHT PHOTOGRAPH - NOT T REPRODUCED PHOTOGRAPHICALLY OUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON On the question of military observers we should like to have the views of the High Commissioner for Palestine before replying.

- (E) Your paragraph 7. It has already been made clear to the Commission that Councils cannot exercise any authority prior to termination of the Mandate. Subject to that qualification preliminary measures by the Commission with a view to the establishment of the Councils after the termination of the Mandate would be cormissible. permissible.
- (F) Your paragraph 9. We are examining the arguments utlined in your telegrams No. 375 and No. 378.

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Cypher/CTI.

DIPLOTTIC DISTRIBUTION.

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGH OFFICE.

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)948

No. 266. D. 9.50 p.m. 30th January 1948.

30th January 1948. R. 3.55 a.m. 31st January 1948.

IMMEDIATE. SECRET.

Addressed to High Commissioner Jerusalem telegram No. 50 of 30th January, repeated to Foreign Office and Saving to Washington.

Following for Gurney from Fletcher Cooke.

[Begins]

Main points discussed at today's meeting with Commission are being reported separately but I should be grateful for early information on the following points:

(1) Transjordan frontier force.

Commission were informed that Transjordan frontier force will be disarmed and disbanded before the termination of the mandate and that the arms and equipment of the force will be treated in the same way as the arms and equipment of His Majesty's other forces in Palestine. Commission wish to know:

- (A) Present strength of the force
- (B) Approximate numbers by races of personnel i.e. how many Palestinian Arabs Syrians Circassians etc.
- (C) After disbandment, is it the intention of the Government of Falestine to repatriate to their countries of origin any personnel who cannot be regarded as Palestinian Arabs? I explained on this point that so far as I was aware, although the personnel of the Transjordan frontier force were drawn from a number of Middle Castern races, they were all recruited in Falestine and I presumed that after their disbandment they would be at liberty to remain in Falestine. Commission seemed alarmed at the possibility that non-Palestinian Arabs with military training might be permitted to remain in Falestine.
- (D) Does the Government of Palestine make any contribution to the cost of the Transjordan frontier force?

I replied to this that Falestine Government's contribution was limited to some £42,000 per annum 31

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which was the cost to Palestine in 1935/36 and that the bulk of the expenditure (which I believe amounts to about two million pounds per year) is paid by His Majesty's Government. I should be grateful if you would confirm that this is the position and that my figures are correct.

(2) Position of Palestinian staff after the termination of the mandate.

The contents of Foreign Office telegram to United Kingdom Delegation No. 595 (repeated to you) were brought to the notice of the Commission, namely that all appointments etc. would be terminated with effect from the date of the termination of the mandate. The Commission did not appear to relish this prospect and Federspiel said that they would have to give careful consideration to the legal position and suggested that there might be legal objections to proceeding in this way.

(3) Interruption of postal services.

Having regard to the stage at which discussions have reached and to the problems facing the Commission it was considered preferable not (repeat not) to ask the Commission whether they could guarantee physically and financially the continuance or postal services with effect from the date of cession of mandate, but merely to inform them that Government of Falestine were proposing to give notice of possible cessetion of services after the 15th May and that such notice would have to be given early in February. Commission replied that in their view Government of Palestine should confine itself to informing International Postal Union that it could no longer accept responsibility for the maintenance of postal services after 15th May inasmuch as the mandate would be laid down on that date, but suggested that no reference should be made to possible cessation of services.

Commission also asked if the text of the notification to International Postal Union on these lines could be telegraphed to me for transmission to them so that they could inform International Postal Union of their plans when they have formulated them.

(4) Municipal legislation.

Contents of your telegram Me.196 were conveyed to Commission and Commission expressed appreciation of the offer to submit to them for comment the draft legislation in question which is presumably on route to me by now.

(5) Population

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(5) Pepulation of Jerusalem.

A member of the Jerusalem Working Committee's secretariat has asked for the latest figures with a breakdown by races of non-Jewish non-Arab population in the new city of Jerusalem i.e. numbers of Greeks Armenians French etc.

[Ends].

Please pass Immediate to Jerusalem and to Colonial Office for Martin.

[Copies sent to Colonial Office for Martin and for transmission to Jerusalem.]

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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

Cypher (0.T.P.)

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 3rd February, 1948.

18.45 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 281 Secret.

Addressed to H.M. Ambassador Washington, No. 63 (Washington please pass to UKDEL No. 291). Repeated to S. of S.

My telegram No.60.

Following for Fletcher-Cooks from Gurney.

Begins.

Trans-Jordan Frontier Force.

Breakdown by nationalities is:=

Palestinian 1,463 Trans-Jordan Syrian Egyptian and Sudanese 113 Lebanese Others

> Total 2,483

Lower strength than that given in my telegram under reference is due to discharges since 18th Decomber.

- 2. For administrative reasons, Syrians will now be discharged at Samakh and repatriated.
- 3. Paragraph 1(d) of your telegram No. 50 is correct. Annual contribution is £(P)42,797. Unds.

 /Copies

- UFLB 1948

Copies sent to:-

Foreign Office (M.O.4)

- Mr. H. Beeley. - Lt. Col. M.M. Charteris.

Reference:

371/68531

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INWARD TELEGRAM TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES 68 E1383! 4 cypner (0.2.2.) FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cuaningham) D. Lath Schrary, 1948, 16.50 brs. No 565 Secret. Addimsend to UDBL, En390 (Addition) Repeated to Doff S to dwellington, No.85. Following for Minister (noke. Begins) Your telegram No 50 parkstaph 3 Population of Acquaetem The letter to the particular to be provided to consider the constant of the provided the standard of the standard to the standard to the standard th Coples sem (ore purgiga orsica

E 1.18.

1948

PALESTINE

Registry \ 5/188/4/51

TELEGRAM FROM

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Dated

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Last Paper.

1383

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(Action completed.)

Next Paper.

7398

(Minites.)

As a noult of the meeting of Ministers this morning (see separate minute), the C.O. on ashing forwarden for their views on the possibility of granting a lenger overlapping period (possibly one month).

U.N. Political Dyt.

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HB.107

Reference:-

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Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION
DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE 2

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No.276 31st January, 1948. D. 1.25 p.m. 31st January, 1948.

R. 6.55 p.m. 31st January, 1948.

IMMEDIATE GIANT LIGHT

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No.276 of 31st January.1948, repeated to Jerusalem and Saving to Washington.

SECRET.

My telegram No.267 gives an account of yesterday's proceedings at Palestine Commission when I gave them the answers with which you had provided me to their questions.

- 2. At the meeting they did not react too badly but I do not yet know what their private reactions were.
- 3. The one thing that is evident is that they think that our refusal to give the Commission more than a fortnight's "overlap" with our administration is bordering on "obstruction". You know from my telegram No.191 that the President thinks that our condition puts the Commission in an impossible position. Your telegram No.401 confirming decision to restrict "overlap" to a fortnight did not refer specifically to my telegram No.191, and I do not know whether it is intended to be a final refusal of the President's appeal for a longer period.
- 4. After the meeting the President had a word in private with me on this subject. He again said that he thought a fortnight unreasonable: he added that if the Commission were given a month, that would be sufficient for their purpose.
- 5. I quite understand that the arrival of the Commission is bound to be the signal for demonstrations whenever it happens. I do not know whether it is anticipated that this will be the starting point of sustained and perhaps ever-increasing activity. If it is I can quite understand that we naturally would wish to reduce this awkward and dangerous period to a minimum. But if the arrival can be expected to produce only a flare-up that cannot be immediately intensified and maintained, I do not know how serious an earlier arrival might be. On the other hand if the President asks/....

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asks me for a month and if we can give it to him, we might avoid a great deal of the slander that will be directed against us tending to make us responsible for any disastrous situation that may result, which the Commission will say is the consequence of our having imposed impossible conditions. (I do not know whether we could ever reveal that the President's request was limited to a month: this request was made to me in private conversation and I do not know that his colleagues would enderse him).

- 6. I gathered that the imminent appeal of the Commission to the Security Council for an implementation force may be based largely on the impossibility of the Commission, single-handed and without a supporting force, being able to get a grip on the situation in the very limited time available to them.
- 7. I feel bound to represent to you that this will be the bull point in any attempt by the Commission to show that their task is an impossible one, and to put the blame, however unfairly, on us if things go seriously wrong. If it is thought vital to limit the "overlap" to a fortnight, I have nothing more to say. In general our case is such a good one that I should only be sorry to see it compromised by insisting on one condition if that condition is not really vital.

Foreign Office please repeat to Jerusalem Immediate as my telegram No.52.

[Copy sent to Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

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PHOTOGRAPH - NOT TO BE PHOTOGRAPHICALLY WITH-SION OF THE PUBLIC CE, LONDON **OUTWARD TELEGRAM**

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

75872/159/15 Cypher (0.T.P.)

1788 4 3/

TO PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)
Sent 4th February, 1948. 14.15 hrs.

IMMEDIATE No. 442 Secret.

Addressed to High Commissioner, Palestine.

Repeated "UKDEL New York, ERIEF No. 28.
"Washington, ERIEF No. 21.

Your telegram No. 275 repeated UNDEL No. 287 and Washington No. 61. Paragraph 2.

No objection to publicity to fact that staff of U.N. Commission will be received before 1st May if sent by Commission to undertake preparatory work.

(Copies sent to Foreign Office for transmission to New York and Washington)

Copies sent to:-

Foreign Office

Mr. H. Beoley.

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INWARD TELEGRAM.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

Cypher (O.T.P.)

1388 4 5, 9 FEB 348

FROM PALESTINE (General Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 4th February, 1948. R. 4th " 20.30 hrs.

MOST IMMEDIATE

No. 289 Top Secret and Personal.

Addressed to the S. of S.
Repeated to U.K.D.E.L. New York No. 303
(Woshington please pass).

I have, as you ask again, considered the question of overlap with the Commission, having in mind that I have always been anxious that, in the interests of Palestine, we should hand over to the Commission with as little dislocation as possible, and furthermore avoid to the greatest extent being placed in the position of being accused of obstruction. I have also ascertained the views of the General Officer Commanding on the security aspect independently from those of the Government. General Officer Commanding is in no doubt that a longer overlap would increase greatly the rick of a breakdown of withdrawal plans and, from the security angle, is of the firm opinion that the fortnight suggested should stand.

I have to admit that I find myself in agreement with this view. We have every reason to believe the Araba when they say that the arrival of the Commission constitutes I Day for them, that they are building up their resources against that time and that present disturbances are largely disorganised. The only things which may hamper them are the possibility of quarrels amongst themselves or shortage of ammunition, but we cannot count on either of these in the initial stages of their attacks on the Jews.

yours. It would be interesting to know why the Commission desires longer overlap. If it is merely to take over administration, surely our suggestions regarding echding staff here in advance will meet with any objections on those grounds. If, on the other hand, it is so that they can commence implementing the plan under the protection of our troops, His Majesty's Government have already made it clear many times that they cannot countenance this.

Distributed to:R.243
Secretary of State
P.S. to Minister of State
Sir T. Lloyd
Mr. Rees-Williams
Sir S. Ceine
Sir G. Jeffries
Mr. Holding
Mr. Martin
Towaign Office
War Office (M.C.4.)
Cabinet Offices

Mr. Trafford Smith Mr. Gutch Mr. Mathieson Mr. Higham Mr. Galsworthy Mr. Helmer Mr. Dale

Mr. H. Booley. Lt. Gol. Charteris. Mr. S.B.V. Duko.

eference:-

371/6853

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FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES. 75872/159/15/48

Cypher (O.T.P.)

1188 4 (1

TO PALESTINE (General Sir A. Cunningham) Sent 3rd February, 1948, 21,30 hrs.

MOST IMMEDIATE

No. 458 Top Searet.

Addressed High Commissioner, Polestins, Repeated UKDEL, New York, BRIEF No. 27.

You will have seen from New York telegrams to Foreign Office. Nos. 191 and 278, both repeated to you, that the United Netions Commission regard Hie Majesty's Government's refusal to allow them more them a fortnight's overlap with the existing administration as the most serious item in the general charge of obstruction which they appear to be formulating. I know that you have always felt that the arrival of the Commission would be such a disturbing factor in Palestine that any attempt to maintain internal decurity or other Government services for more than a very brief period thereafter would impose an intolerable strain on the civil administration. Recent developments in the situation have certainly thrown no doubt on your assessment of this risk. The prospect of grmed conflict with the Arabs, should the period of overlap be in any way prolonged, is very real, and our association with the Commission in Palestine for longer than the fortnight contemplated would certainly encourage imputations that we are not fully sincere in our determination not to take part in the implementation of the United Nations plan.

- With the above factors in mind, I have discussed the New York telegrams under reference with certain of mo colloagues. There is some point in the view that the Allegations that the U.K. is obstructing the work of the Commission should be shown to be demonstrably untrue and that we should indicate our willingness to go as far as practicable in resolving the difficulty which the Commission feels about the short overlap period. We should be in a much better position to resist further requests from the Commission if we were able to meet them to some extent on this particular issue. I have therefore undertaken to ask you to look at this matter again in consultation with the G.C.C. and to say whether you feel that any concession on the perfod of the overlap can be offered to the Commission. I do not which to prese you in any way to ouggest a compromise on this point if in your judgment it would seriously prejudice our position and hamper the withdrawal.
- 3. There is to be a meeting of Ministers to consider this and other related questions on the evening of 5th February and I should be greatly obliged if you could let me have your views before then.

(Copies sent to Poreign Diffice for transmission to New York). Distributed to: -/

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SENT TO DEP.

Distributed to:-

R.243 R.243
Secretary of State
P.S. to Minister of State
Sir T. Lloyd
Mr. Rees-Williams
Sir G. Cains
Sir G. Jeffries
Mr. Mortin
Mr. Trefford Smith
Mr. Gutch
Mr. Methicson Mr. Methieson Mr. Hishem Mr. Golsworthy Mr. Golsworthy Mr. Holmer Mr. Dele Foreign Office War Office (M.O.4.) Cabinet Offices

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INWARD TELEGRAM

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TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

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Cypher (0, T.P.)

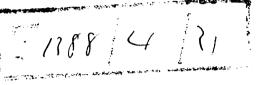
FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 3rd February, 1948, R. 3rd

16.21 hrs.

IMMEDIATE.

No. 275 Secret.



-6 FER 1948

Addressed to S. of S.

Repeated to U.K. Delegation New York No. 287.

" Washington No. 61 (Washington please pass to U.K. Delegation)

Your telegram No.415 repeating U.K. Delegation's telegram No.276 to you and No.52 to me.

I would suggest that it should be possible to allay the Commission's fears regarding the short overlap by stressing

- (a) our readiness to receive and assist any members of their staff whom they wish to send to do essential preparatory work in connection with the taking over of the Administration by the Commission and
- (b) that if this is done, a fortnight's overlap should be sufficient;
- In view of accusations of obstruction in this connection, I feel that it would be helpful to give publicity to the fact that there is no objection to earlier arrival of staff, and propose to do so here unless you see objection.

TO

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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

FO Reference:-

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RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

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Cypher/CTP

FORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FRO. NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE (From United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations) D. 3.50 p.m. 51st January, 1948. No. 281 R. 9.22 part. 31st January, 1948. 31st January, 1948.

Repeated to Jerusalem Washington Spring

I POMAYT

Addressed to For ign Office telegram No. 281 of 31st January, repeated to Jerusalem and saving to washington.

Palestine Commission have sent under formal letter of 30th January copies of correspondence with Jewish Agency on the subject of a request by Shertok that the military withdrawal plan should be communicated under conditions of secrecy and confidence to the Agency representatives.

- 2. Agency letter to Commisssion argues that military evacuation of areas in Jewish State Territories will leave such areas with no organised means of defence. Unless these can be prepared beforehand Jewish population in such areas would probably find itself exposed to easy aggression. Prior knowledge of the plan is thus necessary to provide continuity in defence measures.
- 3. Commission's reply points out that until mandate is terminated mandatory power alone is responsible for law and order and that withdrawal plan was given the Commission only on condition that strictest confidence would be preserved. Commission had given to United Kingdom representative a formal pledge in this regard and is not therefore in a position to comply with Agency's request.
- Commission's reply concludes that copies of commespondence are being sent to United Kingdom Representative for information and for such comment and action as he may deem appropriate.
- 5. Unless you instruct otherwise I shall return a mere acknowledgment of Commission's letter.
- 6. I have also received a letter dated January 50th from Delegation of Arab Higher Committee in New York referring to press reports that Commission has called

371/6853

/ upon me

upon me to divulge evacuation plan to Jewish Agency and esking that if such is our intention we should also communicate the plan to Arab Committee as it is "of vital importance to the Arabs and their security in Palestine". Subject to your views I propose to reply that plan was communicated to Commission in confidence and that there is no question at present of its being divulged to any other party.

Foreign Office please repeat to Jerusalem important as my telegram No. 57.

[Copies sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for retransmission to Jerusalem]

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[This telegram is of particular secrety and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed pn]

Cypher/OTP

FROM MAN YORK TO FORMIGN OFFICE (From United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations) No. 281 31st January, 1948. D. 3.50 p.m. 31st January, 1948. R. 9.22 p.m. 51st January, 1948.

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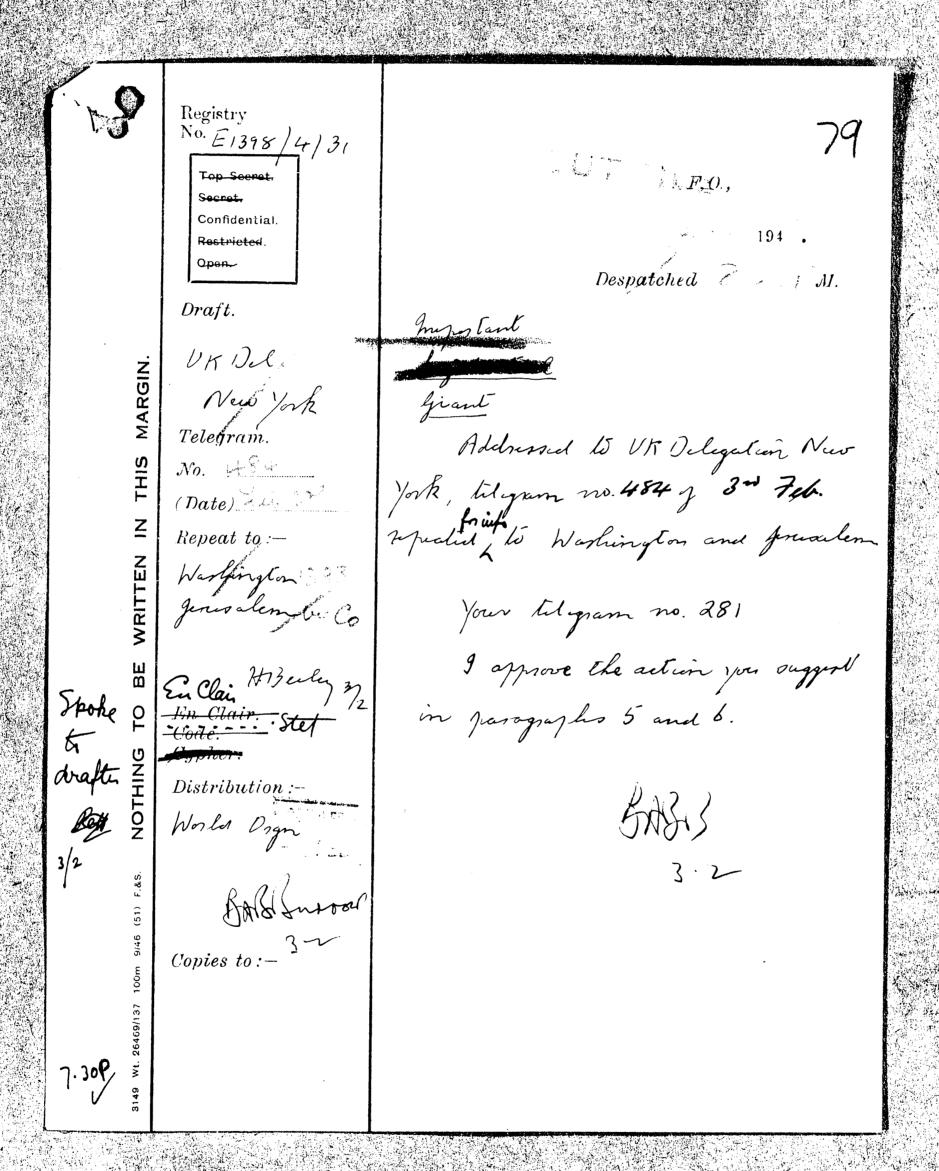
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WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK

(To United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 484

3rd February, 1948

D. 8.23 p.m. 3rd February, 1948

Repeated to Washington No. 1393 Jerusalem

IMPORTANT

GIANT

Addressed to United Kingdom Delegation New York telegram No. 484 of 3rd February repeated for information to Washington and Jerusalem.

Your telegram No. 281.

I approve the action you suggest in paragraphs 5 and 6.

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29470 F.O.P.

HIS Majesty's Ambassadok - at Paris. presents his compliments to HMPS of S. for Tis. and has the honour to transmit to him the inder-mer documents. British. Embassy, Paris. 24th January, 194...8. Reference to previous correspondence: F.O. Telegram to Paris No. 138 of 21st January, 1948 Description of Enclosure. Name and Date. Subject. Copy of Aide Memoire Qualifying period to the Ministry of of "residence" in of "residence" in Foreign Affairs, Jerusalem. of the 24th January, 1948.

AIDS NÉROIRA.

drafting a statute for derusslem in accordance with the resolution on islesting a statute for derusslem in accordance with the resolution on islesting adopted by the General seembly on the 79th Movember. One of the issues under discussion is the length of the qualifying period for Tresidence in the city. The Inited Finddom representative is pressing for a period of five or at least three years. The Trench representative on the Trusteeship Council has expressed himself in favour of a qualifying period of 6 months only, on the grounds that this is the period required to establish voting rights under the french Constitution and that a longer period would not be democratic. His hajesty's Government feel that owing to special circumstances this analogy is inapplicable to the situation in Jerusslem.

- 2. The General Assembly's Galestine resolution confers the following rights on "residents" of the city of Jerusslem:
- a) subject to certain reservations all residents automatically become citizens;
- b) the Legislative Council is to be elected by the soult residents;
- c) after ten years "the residents of the fity shall be free to express by means of a referendum their wishes as to possible modification of the résime of the fity". The statute will then be subject to re-examination by the "rusteeship founcil.
- 3. The second of these provisions does not create any problem since it is proposed to allocate a fixed number of cests to both rebs and Jews on the Legislative Jouncil. The danger arises from the third provision, which seems to leave open the possibility that the Trusteeship Juncil might, in the light of the referendum to be taken after seven years, recommend the termination of the

/International....

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International régime is serusalem. There is little doubt that the Jewish tate will wish to somex Jerusalem and there are already signs that it will ettempt to influence the result of the referendum by sending large numbers of Jews to reside in Jarusalem for the surpose of voting.

His Majesty's Government are sure that the French Government will not wish to leave open any loophole which might result in the disappearance of the separate réglme in Jerusalem and they therefore trust that the French hovernment will be prepared to instruct their representative, in the light of the scove explanation of the position, to vote for a qualifying period of 5 or et lesst years.

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eris.

24th January, 1948.

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29470 F.O.P.

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Record of a meeting between the Secretary of State, the Minister of Defence and the Colonial Secretary, at 10.30 a.m., on 24th January.

Orts of sale of airch ad that the Secretary at that the Secretary at that the Secretary at the Secretary at that the Secretary at the Secreta to the Prime Minister, asking him to issue a directive to the effect that no transaction involving the disposal of warlike material/in or to the Middle East should in future be concluded without being cleared personally by the three Ministers.

Dates for termination of mandate and completion of military withdrawal. The Secretary of State explained that the Americans would like us to keep our troops in Palestine until after the November election. On the other hand, it possible that they would join in pressure upon us to make the date for the termination of the mandate earlier than the 15th May. He therefore wished the two dates to be tied together, and if it were possible to withdraw the last troops before the 1st August, he considered that the date of the 15th May should also remain unchanged. The Colonial Secretary drew attention to the fact that the Administration was crumbling away. He nevertheless did not wish to press for a change of date. It was agreed that the original plan should stand.

Palestine and the sterling area. It was agreed that the Secretary of State should address a minute to the Prime Minister, asking him to issue instructions that the paper on economic and financial consequences of the withdrawal from Palestine, prepared by the Overseas Negotiations Committee, should not be given final clearance by the Economic Policy Committee but should be submitted to the Cabinet.

The Secretary of State gave instructions that. when the decisions taken on this question were communicated to Washington, the Embassy should be instructed to inform Mr. Snyder and Mr. Lovett personally.

Supplies of petrol from Iraq. The Secretary of State said that it must be assumed that on the 1st August, if not earlier, oil would cease to flow through the pipeline from Kirkuk to Haifa, and he asked for a report on the steps which had been taken to provide for this contingency. Should the flow of cil to Tripoli be increased? And had tankers been allocated to transport additional supplies from that terminal? If Tripoli could not take the place of Haifa as a supply point for crude oil, what alternative arrangements were being made?

the dinister of Defence and the Colonial Becretary.

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The top esty of this has been given to the P.S. 24), who will, when approved by S. 75. send lipies to the Flourish Les. a Minister of Defence.

The Flourish Les: a Minister of France for a visor 24. I want I have a for a visor 24. I have a feel in the next son a post-

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OGRAPHICALLY WITHOF THE PUBLIC

MORRISH OFFICE,

S. W. 1.

...

26th January, 1948.

Dear Wood,

the meeting between the Poreign
Secretary, the Minister of
Tefence and the Colonial Secretary
on the subject of Palestine,
which took place on Saturday,
24th January, 1948.

Yours sincerely,

-(Sep.) R. D. C. McALPINE

R.F. Wood Saq., Sinistry of Pefence.

Reference:

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71/68531

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Last Paper.	(Minutes.) Please enter whete.	
References.	I altended a meeting on this subject in the C.O. on the 30th January. The record of this meeting has not yet here sent to us.	
(Print.)	proposals are (as I understand them): (i) that the V.N bern mission should appoint an	
(How disposed of.)	interior administrator for the Jenesalem and and a Phairman for the Municipal Commission of the bity. (i) that if such action is not taken, the British Phairman of the violing Municipal	
	fin mission should be allowed to continue in spirit, to gether with a number of other British spirials. I ful quite sure that no Arch would corporate with a U.N. Administrator of the Jerusalem	
(Action completed.) Next Paper.	area or with a knairman of the Municipal bommission acting under his authority. A khairman of the Municipal bommission alone, appointed of the U.N. but by some body they than the Palestine bommission,	
1469	30471 F.O.P. Would	

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world have better chance.

When the mandale comes to an end, do facts
authority in many parts of Palestin will fall
into the hands of municipal and other local
councils why not in freesalen also? It is
true that the present by a British spicial, but
he might be allowed to centiones in spice if:

(i) it was clear that his authority stopped
at the municipal boundary, and that
he had nothing whatever to do with the
larger presalen area planned by the U.N.

(if it was also clear that his authority did
not derive from the U.N. bommission.

I do not know whether the Palestin Bill, as at prosent drafted, meets the High hommissioners suggestion at paragraph 8 (a). This should he looked into if it is decided that we wish to have the door open to his alternative course of action.

HBeely 8/2

the S. M. of the Rece Willhaming

1-1-

Jeneralen alone be denied their forsibility of local admin istratur continuity?

371/68

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INWARD TELEGRAM.



E1460 3

Cyphor (O.T.P.)

FROM PALESTINE (General Sir A. Cunningham)

D.29th January, 1948. R.29th "

13,50 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 220 Top Secret and Personal.

Following for Martin. Begins.

Your letter of 16th January to Gurney.

It now appears to be the wish of responsible members of all communities to respect the peace of Jerusalem, and the prospects of their being able to do so are considerably brighten now then they were a month ago. On the termination of the mendate Jows will be too closely occupied with problems of setting up their own State to wish to make trouble in Jorusalem. They will, moreover, not wish to appear to flout the U.N.O. plan for the City. The Jewish Agency Political Department have told us that they would make no attempt to set up an administration in Jerusalem.

The Arab plans, as so for known, provide for attacks on Jewe in other parts of Palestine but do not contemplate any offensive action against Jews in Jerusalem. It is most unlikely that King Abdullen would attempt to selve or control the Messini atronghold of the City, An Arab coup d'atet, bowever, cannot be entirely ruled out.

In spite of the wishes of leaders of both communities, inter communal tension, farmed by events outside, will be running so high that any sperk lit by woontrolled alements on dither and in Jerusales may cause a disastrous explosion. The Areb and Jawish Municipal Police could not do nove than protect life and property in the quarter of their respective communities, out of which they would not venture. We administration could undertake to maintain even a semblance of law and order without a special police force; non Arebs and non Jewe, to intervene and provene mejer classes between ztotomo everda.

The Jerusalom Municipality is held together ut present by a British chalmen of the Municipal Cosmission appointed by the High Commissioner and paid from Municipal funds, and a number of Municipal Commission ("group omitted) all but one of when are Governmen's officers whose appointments will be terminated on 16th May. The Chairman of the Commission and the British staff of the Municipality are prepared to remain on duty for so long an is is possible for them to give useful service, and is is probable that desontial Municipal services can be maintained, though with difficulty, by the existing etarf.

The local administration of Buthlehom and villages included in the City area may be expected to be continued rainly satisfactorily by their respective local authorities.

6853

6. For two main reasons the Numicipality will be unable by itself to essume the functions of Government of the Municipal area. First, Jerusalem is entirely dependent upon butside supplies of food and other essentials. The Municipality will be unable to organize these or to operate outside communication such as Posts and Telegraphs, secondly, it will be unable to find money to pay for the special police force costing not less than £40,000 a month, apart from 11s Arab and Jewish Police Porce of 500 costing £12,000 a month. There must therefore be a Government if only represented by a Governor or Administrator, appointed by the United Estions.

Since resolution of the General Assembly does not provide for special (Pinternational) regime to come into existence until two months after evacuation of British forces (paragraph 3 of Part 1A), and since the function of implementing belonge to the Commission and not to Trusteeship Council (paragraph 2 of Part 1B), it appears that the simplest procedure would be for the Commission to provide by regulations, which it is authorized by the Assembly to make and could make in New York, for the interim Government of Jerusalem, and for them to appoint an Administrator with the necessary staff and also a Chairman of the Sumicipal Commission who could take over as soon as possible from the present Chairman, who is 68 years old. The Chairman appointed by the Commission could probably organize some sort of Municipal Council as an interim nominated body. There is no prespect of finding another seceptable Chairman locally when the present Chairman leaves. The Administrator himself should not and need not come here before lat May; it would be necessary for others to come earlier to make preparations. In this way the Commission might find it possible to succeed in an important part of their tank without coming here themselves,

Two existidiary points should be noted.

- (a) The act of Parliament should not preclude continuance of the authority of the Chairman of the Emilaipal Commissions and suployees of Municipal and local authorities. This is necessary for Jerusalem in cose the Cossission to upt wake the Pagalations proposed above.
- (b) There are presumably no political objections to British officers remaining in these capacities if nacastary, Fris.

latributed to:-A. 245 Secretary of State P.S. to Minister of State Sir T. Mayd Mr. Roes Williams Sir S. Calma Sur C. Jeff ries Mr. Holding Mr. Martin Foreign Office

Mr. Trafford Sugah

Mr. Ontch Mr. Machiesou

Mr. Higham Mr. Galaworthy

Mr. Holmer

Mr. Dele

Mer. Verledit. Mr. Burrowa.

30471 F.O.P

RECORD

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Cypher/OTP

POLITICAL DISTRIBUTION

FROM JEDDA TO FOREIGN OFFICE FED 1948

Mr. Trott No. 42

D. 6.00 p.m. 31st January, 1948 31st January, 1948 R. 10.50 p.m. 31st January, 1948

Repeated to Arab posts
B.M.E.O.
Washington

SECRET

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 42 of

31st January repeated to Arab posts, B.M.E.O. and Washington.

Your telegram No. 34 [sic] to Beirut paragraph 5.

I do not think Ibn Saud would raise any objection to force of Lebanese gendarmerie though he would to Iraq or Transjordan supplying force.

Foreign Office please pass to Washington as my telegram No. 6.

[Repeated to Washington]

888



371/68531 REP

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29470 F.O.P.

Next Paper.

1152

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Colonial Office, The Church House, Gt. Smith Street, LONDON. S.W.I.

30 January 1948

Your Reference

3 FEB 1943 94 Dean Buley,

Since our discussion this morning on
Telegram No. 215 from New York about the Draft Instructions of the Trusteeship Council

to the Governor of Jerusalem, I have sell new York Telegram No. 237 which states that the Working Committee will meet on February 12th and 13th, and the Trusteeship Council not now until February 16th.

2. This rather alters the situation, and I think therefore we had better telegraph as in the draft enclosed. If you see no objection perhaps you would kindly arrange for it to be sent off.

Your sinearly,

ANSalsworthy

(A.N. Galsworthy)

H. BEALEY, ESQ.,

Registry Top Secret. Draft. Secret. IMPORTANT Confidential. Restricted. CONFIDENTIAL BUILD Telegram. United Kingdom Addressed to U.K. Delegation, New York Delegation, New York tel. No. 437 of Jan 31 repeated, to No. 437 Jerusalem and Saving to Washington. Following for Fletcher Cooke from Repeat to:-Galsworthy. Jerusalem -Saving to Washing-Your telegram No. 215 / of 26th January & Statute for Jerusalem. ton. 1/2 Saw. Our concern is not that Instructions to Governor should form part of the Statute We recognise there may well be advantage in having them as a separate document J but that they should be En Clair. prepared by the Trusteeship Council Gode. Cypher.and not (repeat not) left to the Governor Distribution :to prepare. We still feel therefore Trusteship. that question should be re-opened in Working Committee and are not inclined to accept Anker's view. 2/ Copies to:-

TO

371/6853

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No. 237 that Trusteeship Council has been deferred until February 16th and that Working Committee will reconvene on February 12th and 13th.

Burns and I are travelling on "Queen Elizabeth" and Burns will therefore be able to raise matter himself in Working Committee.

Meanwhile U.K. draft Instructions should not (repeat not) be circulated, to members in advance, and no (repeat no) further action need be taken in this matter until Burns arrives.

H3. 31)

NG TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MAKGIN.

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TRUSTEESHIP DISTRIBUTION

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK

ITo United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 437 31st January, 1948. D.4.45 p.m. 31st January, 1948.

Repeated to Jerusalem Washington No. 112 Saving

IMPORTANT CONFIDENTIAL BUI LD

Addressed to United Kingdom Delegation, New York telegram No. 437 of January 31st repeated for information to Jerusalem and Saving to Washington

Your telegram No. 215 [of 26th January Statute for Jerusalem.]

Following for Fletcher Cooke from Galsworthy.

Our concern is not that Instructions to Governor should form part of the Statute (We recognise there may well be advantage in having them as a separate document)
but that they should be prepared by the Trusteeship Council
now and not (repeat not) left to the Governor to prepare.
We still feel therefore that question should be re-opened
in Working Committee and are not inclined to accept
Anker's view.

2. We now see from your telegram No. 237 that Trusteeship Council has been deferred until February 16th and that Working Committee will reconvene on February 12th and 13th. Burns and I are travelling on "Queen Elizabeth" and Burns will therefore be able to raise matter himself in Working Committee. Meanwhile United Kingdom draft Instructions should not (repeat not) be circulated, to members in advance, and no (repeat no) further action need be taken in this matter until Burns arrives.

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FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

D. 4.42 p.m. 4th February, 1948. R. 10.55 p.m. 4th February, 1948. No. 325. 4th February, 1948.

Repeated to Jerusalem,
Washington - Saving.

IMMEDIATE.

GIANT.

SECRET.

Addressed Foreign Office telegram No. 325 of 4th February.

repeated to Jerusalem and saving to Washington.

My telegram 267 paragraph 4 and my telegram 276. Palestine.

I have today received a letter from Secretary of Commission referring to my statement that "His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom would not regard favourably any proposal by the Commission to proceed to Palestine earlier than two weeks before the date of the termination of the mandate" and continuing as follows:

[Begins]

I am to inform you that it is the considered view of the Commission that this limitation on its arrival in Palestine would make it impossible for the Commission to discharge the responsibilities entrusted to it by the Resolution of the General Assembly. The Commission has been informed that the mandatory power proposes to relinquish its responsibility for the Government of Palestine as a whole and not piecemeal.

The Commission recognises the validity of the position taken by the mandatory power that there must not be two concurrent overlapping authorities in Palestine prior to the termination of the mandate and does not therefore seek to exercise any governmental functions before that date. On the other hand the Commission is acutely aware that there is a vast amount of work preparatory to the transfer of authority which will require its presence in Palestine well in advance of the mandates termination.

Under the proposed policy of the mandatory power the Commission in two short weeks in Palestine would be required to prepare itself to assume responsibility under most difficult circumstances for the full burden of a complex fee administrative structure and for maintaining law and extension the country. in the country.

Copil 22 d

For these reasons the Commission does not find satisfactory the proposal that the Commission should not come to Palestine until approximately a fortnight before the termination of the mandate and has decided therefore to ask you to be so kind as to convey to your Government this request for reconsideration of its policy in this matter. [Ends].

2. In addition to above communication Secretariat have asked for an answer to question raised by delegate of Panama and recorded in paragraph 5 of my telegram 267,

3. I should be grateful for earliest possible instructions.

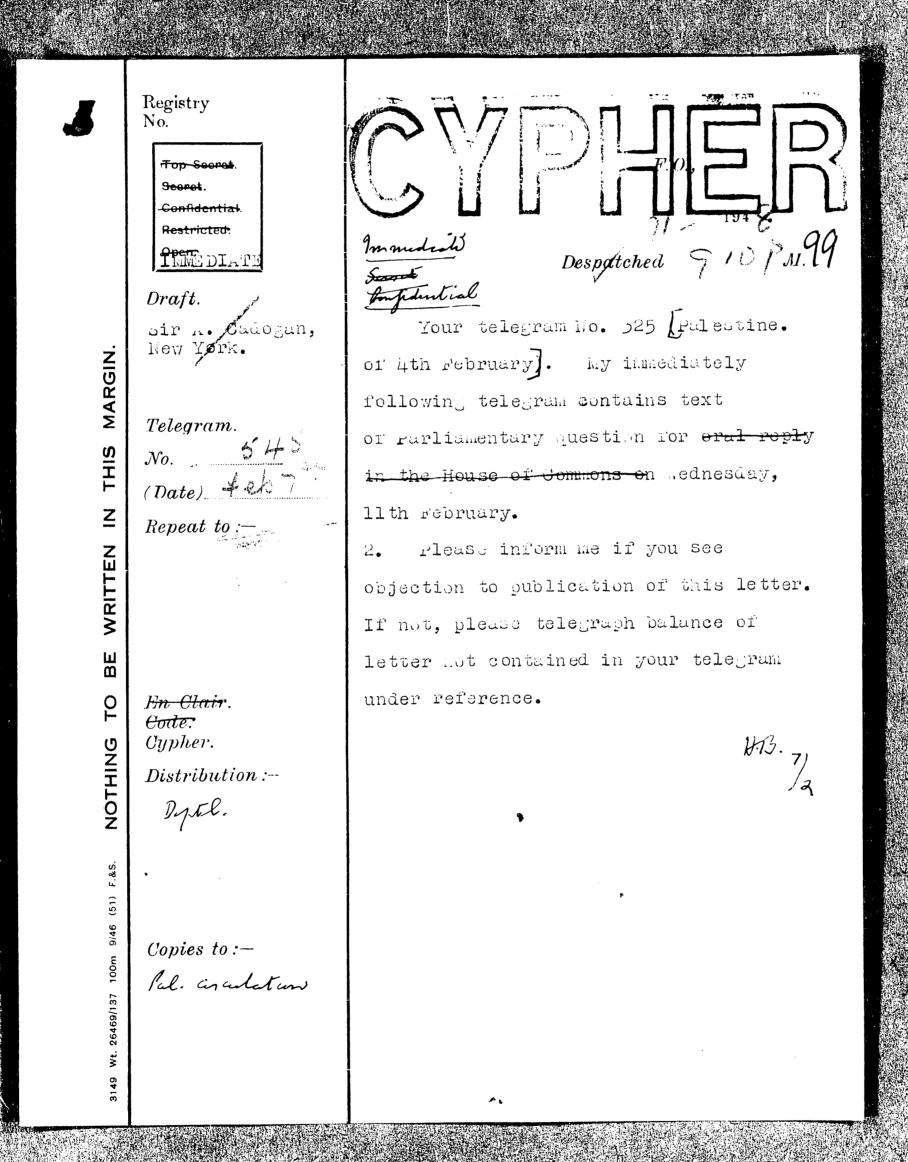
Foreign Office please pass immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram 60.

[Copy sent to Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

37

71/6853

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL

100

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO HAVE YORK

(To United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 545 7th February, 1948.

D. 9.10 p.m. 7th February, 1948.

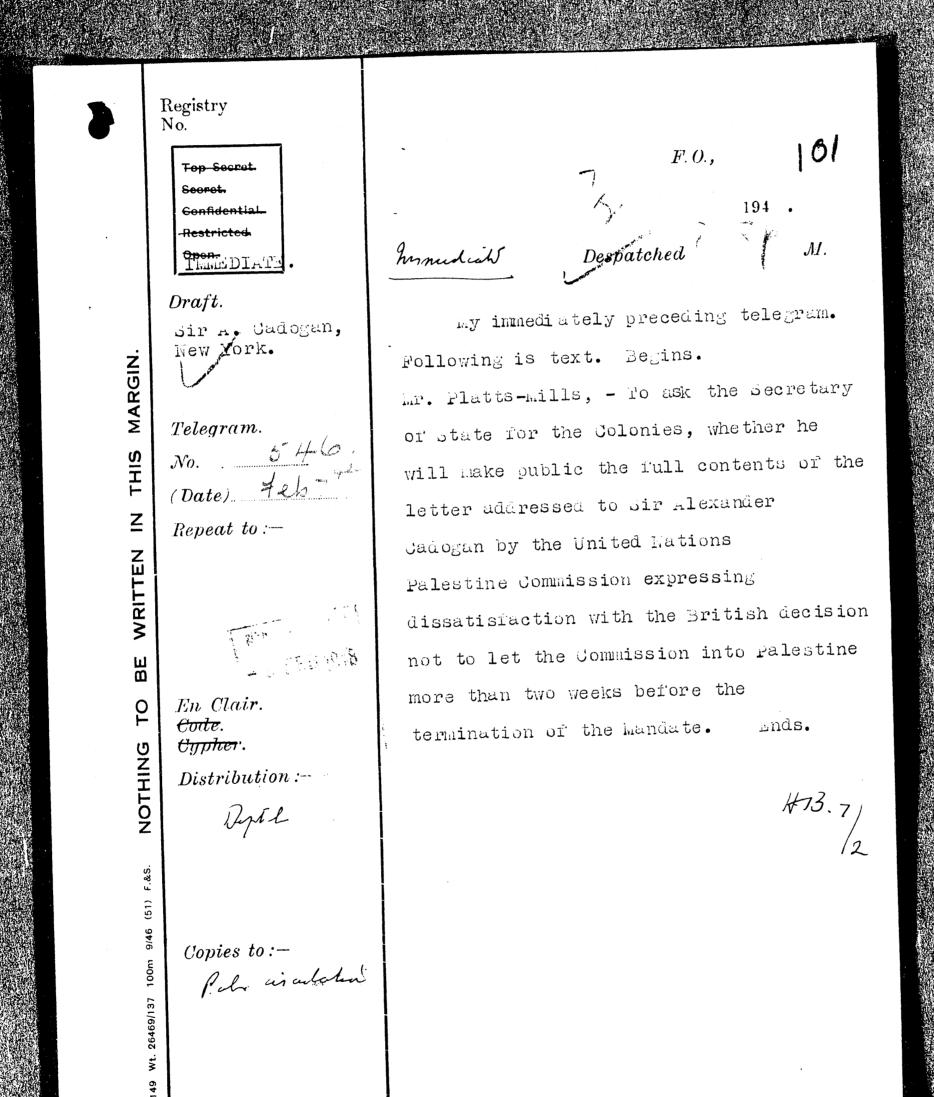
IMEDIATE CONFIDENTIAL

Your telegram No. 325 [Palestine of 4th February].

My immediately following telegram contains text of Parliamentary question for Wednesday, 11th February,

2. Please inform me if you see objection to publication of this letter. If not, please telegraph balance of letter not contained in your telegram under reference.

FFFF



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162

En Clair

DEPARTMENTAL

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK

(To United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 546 7th February, 1948.

D. 8.8 p.m. 7th February, 1948.

IMMEDIATE

My immediately preceding telegram.

Following is text.

Begins

Mr. Platts-Mills, - To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies, whether he will make public the full contents the Colonies, whether he will make public the full contents the letter addressed to Sir Alexander Cadogan by the of the letter addressed to Sir Alexander Cadogan by the United Nations Palestine Commission expressing dissatisfaction with the British decision not to let the Commission tion with the British decision not to let the termination into Palestine more than two weeks before the termination of the Mandate.

Ends

FFFF

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5 FEB 1943

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 328.

D. 5.42.p.m.February 4th. 1943.

R. 10.55.p.m.February 4th. 1948.

Repeated Jerusalem and Saving to Jashington.

HOST HADDIATE.

GIANT.

Saving to Washington.

Your telegram No. 494. Palestine.

- yet no draft of their special report. They are beginning discussion of it this afternoon. In his view it will be at least four or five days before it is ready.
- 2. Commission's first monthly report has already been circulated and may (though there is no (repeat no) present indication of this) be placed at any time on Council's provisional agenda for discussion after three days (Rule 8 of provisional rules of procedure). Such discussion would no doubt also cover field of special report if latter had been circulated by the time discussion took place.
- discussion would be likely to take. I could take soundings of other members of Council but in present circumstances they would be likely to say that they could not commit themselves before they see the special report. In any case they would probably want time to consult their governments before being ready to discuss special report.

Foreign Office please pass to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 62.

[Copy sent to Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

---000--

371/6853

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106

Cypher/OTP

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No.329
4th February, 1948
R.12.30 a.m. 5th February, 1948

LAEDIATE

SECRET

Addressed to Jerusalem telegram No.63 of 4th February 1948 repeated to Foreign Office (For Colonial Office) and saving to Washington.

Following for Gurney from Fletcher Cooke.

[Begins].

Commission have enquired whether any information is available regarding the following alleged incident.

- 2. A report was made to the Commission on 2nd February to the effect that on or about 1st February Hagana patrols had "spotted Lebanese officers surveying ground for gun and mortar positions" in Upper Galilee allegedly in preparation for an assault on Misgovam and Manara, two settlements located a few hundred yards from the Lebanese frontier North-west of Huleh.
- 5. I can find no reference to this in any security reports received from you and would be grateful for any information that may be available. [Ends].

Foreign Office please pass immediate to Jerusalem and pass to Colonial Office.

[Copies sent to Colonial Office and to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

k k k

INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

Cypher (O.T.P.)

107

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Commingham)

D. 7th February, 1948. R. 7th " 13.35 hrs.

INMEDIATE

No. 308 Secret

Addressed to Washington No. 69, (please pass to U.K. Del. as my No.331 for Flatcher Cooke from Gurney). Repeated to the S. of S.

Reference S. of S. to legrem No. 467 repeating U.K. Del. telegrem No. 63 to Jerusalem.

No (repeat no) information is available here about alleged discovery by hagens patrols on or about let February. If report is true, Jovish authorities have failed to pass on the information to us.

Copy east to:-

Foreign Office - Communications Department.

INWARD TELEGRAM

108

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

Cypher(O.T.P.)

164/ 4 71

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 9th February, 1948.
R. 9th " 21.37 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 328

Addressed to H.M. Ambassador Washington, (? No. 76)

Repeated to S. of S.

OF S. (Washington please pass to UKDEL New York No. 349 for Fletcher-Cook from Gurney).

My telegram to Washington No.69, UKDEL No.331 repeated to the S. of S. No.308.

It has now come to our knowledge that Jowish source reported to Headquarters Palestine about 30th January that an attack on frontier settlements in Eastern Galilee was being prepared. That Al Manara and Misgav would probably be targets. That Lebanese officer has been reconnecting sites for mortars and light artillery. This information was immediately conveyed to Military Commender of area.

2. I regret that this information was not in my possession when my telegram of 11th January was despatched. Ends.

Copies sent to: -

Foreign Office

- Mr. H. Boelo:/a

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

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E. 16426 110

5 FEB 1943

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Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL.

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 331. D. 11.00 p.m. 4th February, 1948. 4th February, 1948. R. 5.30 a.m. 5th February, 1948.

IMMEDIATE.

Addressed to High Commissioner Jerusalem telegram No. 64 of 4th February, repeated to Foreign Office for Colonial Office and Washington Saving.

Following for Gurney from Fletcher Cooke.

[Begins] Your telegram No. 289, repeated to Colonial Office as No. 277.

Contents of your telegram No. 222 (repeated to Colonial Office as No. 209) were conveyed to the Commission by letter on 29th January. Matter was briefly touched upon during our meeting with the Commission on 30th January but no indication was given as to Commission's reactions.

- 2. I have since spoken to Bunche who informs me that Federspiel has been appointed by the Commission to deal with matters relating to the Commission's accommodation, etc. in Palestine. In particular, Federspiel is going to ask on what terms the Commission would be permitted to occupy the Royal Air Force camp at Aqir and use the airfield there.
- 3. Bunche has enquired quite unofficially whether it is proposed that Commission should occupy this accommodation free of charge or whether they will be expected to pay rent to His Majesty's Government.
- 4. I would suggest for consideration that Commission might be permitted to occupy Aqir without (repeat without) payment on the understanding that when they relinquish occupation His Majesty's Government will have the right to dispose of it in exactly the same way as if they had disposed of it prior to the termination of the mandate.
- been authorised to take up the question of termination of Palestinian officer's appointments and the payment of compensation for abolition of office. We have, as you know, made our position quite clear on this point to the Commission and I do not (repeat not) know what line Federspiel is going to take.

371/685

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6./

6. Paragraph 2 of your telegram under reply is noted.

7. I am grateful for the information in paragraph 3 of your telegram under reply. No doubt an opportunity of clearing this point up will occur when the directive for the G.O.C. is finally brought to the notice of the Commission.

8. Bunche also informed me that within the next day or two we shall be receiving the proposals of the Commission as regards the advance party of the Commission's staff.

[Ends].

Foreign Office please pass to Jerusalem Immediate and pass to Colonial Office.

[Copies sent to Colonial Office and to Telegraph Section for repetition to Jerusalem].

333

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7.4.B	PALESTINE	FEE 1948 J
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PALESTINE

E 1 (18) 113

A meeting was held in the Secretary of State's room at the Foreign Office on the morning of the 3rd February, 1948.

Also present were the Minister of Defence, the Colonial Secretary and the Minister of State were

Desire of the United Nations Commission to arrive in Palestine earlier than 1st May. The Secretary of State said that while we must stand firm on the other complaints made by the Commission about our plans, we might be able to make a concession on the date of their arrival in Palestine. He suggested that Sir A. Cadogan might be authorized to ask them what further facilities they require. We might then make it clear that we could not consider any further pressure ancessions in future, and on that understanding offer to allow them into Palestine during the second half of April. The Colonial Secretary pointed out that the Arabs were determined to make the task of the Commission impossible from the moment of its arrival in Palestine and that our security problem would consequently be increased by any concession of this kind. The Minister of Defence said that if H.M. Government agreed to let the Commission in earlier, they must also decide now to resist any pressure, which might develop as a result of the disturbances following their arrival, for an earlier withdrawal of our troops. The Minister of State reported that Mr. Trygve Lie had discussed this question with him and had asked whether the Commission would be allowed to come to London. It was agreed that no objections should be raised to this if the Commission wanted to come.

> It was agreed that the Colonial Secretary should ask the High Commissioner for his views and those of the G.O.C. on a possible concession to the U.N. Commission on the lines suggested by the Secretary of State.

> Attitude of United Kingdom Delegation on the Security Council to proposals for an international force. The Secretary of State said that he would have no objection to Sir A. Cadogan explaining privately to friendly Delegations our apprehensions about the consequences of sending an international force to Palestine. But the attitude of the United Kingdom Delegation in the Security Council must be one of absolute neutrality and they must abstain from voting.

It was agreed to suggest to the Prime Minister that the Colonial Secretary should go to New York for the discussion by the Security Council of proposals for enforcement action in Palestine. It was also agreed that a brief should be prepared for approval by the Cabinet.

How the Charles Horsely of

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114

FOREIGN OFFICE,

S.W. 1.

3rd February, 1948.

Dear datson,

enclose a record of the meeting which was held this morning at the Foreign ffice between the Foreign Secretary, the Minister of Defence and the Colonial Secretary on the subject of Paleatine.

Yours sincerely,

(SGD.) R. D. C. MICALPINE

V.D. Watson Esq., Colonial Office.

FOREIGN OFFICE,

S.W.1.

3rd February, 1948.

Dear Mood,

I attach a record

of the meeting which was held this morning at the Foreign Office between the Foreign Secretary, the Minister of Defence and the Colonial Secretary on the subject of Palestine.

> Yours sincerely, (Sch.) R. D. C. MICALPINE

R.F. Wood Esq., Ministry of Tefence

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E 16.5

When Trypye Lie visited me he also naided That in that the Palestine. He said that it was now almost certain that the Commission would want to make a supplementary report to the Security Commission on the need of the Security Council to provide an armed force to implement the United Nations plan for Palestine. Had I any views upon it?

I told him that he ought to be award that as far as I was concerned I did not think the plan could be implemented by force. If it had been possible to do this, I pointed out, we could have enforced it. The truth was that no reasonable security force could enforce paritition and that the only solution could some, as my Secretary of State had repeatedly pointed out, through agree but from both parties.

He then asked if we would contribute to such a force, and even if we disnot contribute that our attitude on the Security Council, would be towards a force which he thought it would be easier to construct from smaller along nto then from the major Powers, although he did not rule out the possibility of a proposition involving the Major Powers being made.

I told him that an fam as we were concerned I fid not see any conditions under which we could contaibute forces except those to which we have deferred from the beginning of the special session - i.c. agreement by both parties. As for the second point of using our veto. I said that I must reserve the position completely because it was not one apon which the Secretary of State had not cade up his mind.

Trigve his said he wanted to raise one other point. If we would not agree to allow the United Nations Commission in before May 1st, was it possible that we could agree to the Commission coming earlier than that date to London?

I assured him that as far as Palestine was concerned there was no possibility of our revising our opinion and that therefore /the

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any earlier than fourteen days before the termination of our sandate. As to the alternative, that we should permit the Commission to come to London before that date, I promised to put it to my Secretary of State. I agreed that I could see some advantages in such a proposal because, of course, all the experts on the subject were available in our offices in London and we could avoid having to send long telegrams between New York and London in the search of such information or in the making of decisions.

February 2nd 1948.

Copy to:

Secretary of State
Sir O. Sargent
- Hastern Department (Top)
United Nations Department.
Rt. Mon. A. Greech Jones M.P.

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120 Enlin The Church House, Gt. Smith Street, London, S. W. 1.

February 4, 1948.

My Reference

Your Reference

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My dear suly,

I enclose the first draft of a second paper which my secretary of state wishes to circulate to his colleagues before the Cabinet meeting scheduled for the evening of the 5th February. This draft has not yet been seen by my secretary of state. I shall be glad to have as soon as possible any comments you may have to make.

I am sending a copy of the draft to Luke at the Cabinet Offices.

Jours evel, Littlein

(W.E.C. Mathieson)

H. BENLEY, ESQ., CBE.

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PALESTINE

ATTITUDE OF HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT TO IMPLEMENTATION OF UNITED NATIONS PLAN.

Memo. by Secretary of State for the Colonies.

My colleagues will wish to be reminded of the statements which have been made on behalf of His Majesty's Government with regard to the part they are prepared to play in the implementation of the United Nations Plan.

At the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly in April, 1947, at which the Special Committee on Palestine was set up, Sir Alexander Cadogan stated that, if the United Nations could find a just solution acceptable to both parties, it would be welcomed by His Majesty's Government but they should not have the sole responsibility for enforcing a solution which was not accepted by both parties and which we could not reconcile with our conscience.

3. In the opening stages of the discussion of the Special Committee's report by the General Assembly, on the 26th September 1947, and 16th October 1947, I made two speeches outlining the attitude of His Majesty's Government to the report. I

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made it clear that they would be in the highest degree reluctant to oppose the wishes of the General Assembly with regard to the future of Palestine but they were not prepared to impose by force of arms a settlement which was not acceptable to both the Arabs and the Jews in Palestine. In the absence of such a settlement His Majesty's Government must plan for the early withdrawal of British forces and administration from Palestine. I pointed out that it would be unreasonable to ask His Majesty's Government to carry sole responsibility for the administration of Palestine and for enforcing changes which the United Nations regarded as necessary. In determining the nature of the settlement the Assembly should also determine the measures to implement it. His Majesty's Government would not accept responsibility for enforcement of a disputed settlement, either alone or in the major role.

A. As discussion in Committee and Sub-Committee continued it was necessary for our representatives on several occasions to elaborate and stress the attitude of His Majesty's Government to enforcement. We stated that our authorities had been directed to plan for the evacuation of our forces and administration to be completed by the 1st August 1948, and that a civil administration would not necessarily be maintained up to that date. We reserved / the

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the right to lay down the Mandate and to bring the civil administration to an end at any time after it had become evident

sir Alexander Jadogan Stated on the lith November that:

p its "... if a United Lations Commission 11 were at work in Palestine taking preparatory estine steps for a settlement which would require enforcement it must not expect British authorities forceeither to exercise administrative responsibility la tory or to maintain law and order except in the sed as limited areas of which they would necessarily remain in occupation during the process of withdrawal." 5. On the 20th November Jir Alexander Jadogan

expressed the hope that in drawing up its of a date, but the present Government would relinquish its authority only to a United Nations

Commission which could then undertake to devolve that authority to successor

so long as His Lajesty's Government continued fer to hold the Mandate, they must insist on their undivided control of the country. resenta-100

> implementation of the scheme by His Majesty's Covernment.

In the light of our representatives statements certain modifications were made to the Plan which failed however to /provide

the right to lay down the Mandate and to bring the civil administration to an end at any time after it had become evident that no settlement acceptable to both Jews and Arabs had been reached by the Assembly 5 on the 200 November Si Mercande Calgaria was stated our hope that in drawing up its proposals the Assembly would take full account of the risk of strife in Balestine and of the need to provide a means of filling the gap in the process of enforcement left by the decision of the Mandatory Power that its troops could not be used as the instrument of the United Nations for this purpose. In arranging our withdrawal we would give proper consideration to such arrangements as might have been made by the United Nations for the establishment of a provisional regime to succeed the Mandate, but the present Government would relinquish its authority only to a United Nations Commission which could then undertake to devolve that authority to successor governments as it thought fit. / The Palestine Government would not transfer authority drectly to councils of government or to any other local representatives under a scheme of partition since this would in practice amount to the implementation of the scheme by His Majesty's Government:

6. In the light of our representatives statements certain modifications were made to the Plan which failed however to /provide

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provide any alternative means of enforcement to the employment of the forces of the Mandatory Power. It was necessary for our representatives to re-emphasize that the gap in enforcement still remained and that His Majesty's Government did not consider that the Mandate required them to establish either a Jewish State or an Arab State in Palestine by force, or to coerce either people in the interest of the other, nor whre they prepared to accept any responsibility under the Assembly recommendations which would involve the use of British troops as the means for enforcing a decision against either people.

> In opening the debate in the House of Commons on the 11th December, 1947, I recalled the statements made on the problem of enforcement by our delegation to the United Nations, and stated that it was not for Britain after it had given so much, to take up again the heavy commitments of bringing a new order fashioned by the United Nations into being in the face of new conflict. I stated that the date we had in mind for the termination of the Mandate was 15th May 1948, and that in our view undivided control of Palestine was essential until the Mandate was relinguished. As His Majesty's Government had made it clear that they could not take part in the implementation of the United Nations Plan it would be undesirable for the Commission to arrive in Palestine

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until a short period before the termination of the Mandate.

8. In the same debate the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs made the following statement:

"I am not going, and His Majesty's Government are not going, to oppose the United Nations decision. The decision has been taken. As someone has said we have tried our best. We have no intention of opposing that decision, but we cannot ourselves undertake, either individually or collectively in association with others, to impose that decision by force."

--In reply to a question regarding our action if the Security Council were to decide that collective enforcement was necessary in respect of Palestine, he said:

lay down itself how they will find the forces, and the form of the forces, but I cannot use British organised forces nor can I be a party at the present moment, with security forces as a whole not yet organised in the United Nations, of putting British forces under other commands. When the scheme is finally worked out of what this United Nations force is to be, what its command is to be, and what its obligations are to be, not only in Palestine but as part of the international set-up, then we will take our corner, but to put British forces under

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another command in this way in an isolated instance is a thing we are not prepared to do."

7. The latest occasion on which His Majesty's Government's attitude on this matter was re-stated was in the debate in the House of Lords on the 20th January when the Minister of State for the Colonies said:

"The House will remember that
His Majesty's Government have made it
abundantly clear again and again that
they cannot allow our forces to be
employed in imposing a solution upon
either community in Palestine. We cannot
use British forces to impose a plan which
is not freely accepted by both parties
in Palestine."

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4th February, 1948.

CABINET

PALESTINE: ATTITUDE OF HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT TO IMPLEMENTATION OF UNITED NATIONS PLAN

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for the Colonies

My colleagues will wish to be reminded of the statements which have been made on behalf of His Majesty's Government with regard to the part they are prepared to play in the implementation of the United Nations Plan.

- Assembly in April, 1947, at which the Special Committee on Palestine was set up, Sir Alexander Cadogan stated that, if the United Nations could find a just solution acceptable to both parties, it would be welcomed by His Majesty's Government but they should not have the sole responsibility for enforcing a solution which was not accepted by both parties and which we could not reconcile with our conscience.
- In the opening stages of the discussion of the Special Committee's report by the General Assembly, on 26th September, 1947, and 16th October, 1947, I made two speeches outlining the attitude of His Majesty's Government to the report. I made it clear that they would be in the highest degree reluctant to oppose the wishes of the General Assembly with regard to the future of Palestine but they were not prepared to impose by force of arms a settlement which was not acceptable to both the Arabs and the Jews in Palestine. In the absence of such a settlement His Majusty's Government must plan for the early withdrawal of British forces and administration from Palestine. I pointed out that it would be unreasonable to ask His Majesty's Government to carry sole responsibility for the administration of Palestine and for enforcing changes which the United Nations regarded as necessary. In determining the nature of the settlement the Assembly should also determine the measures to implement it. His Majosty's Government would not accept responsibility for enforcement of a disputed settlement, either alone or in the major role. Likewise in considering any proposal to the effect that they should participate with others in the enforcement of a settlement, they must take into account both the inherent justice of the settlement and the extent to which force would be required to give effect to it.
- 4. As discussion in Committee and Sub-Committee continued it was necessary for our representatives on several occasions to elaborate and stress the attitude of His Majesty's Government to enforcement. We stated that our authorities had been directed to plan for the evacuation of our forces and administration to

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be completed by 1st August, 1946, and that a civil administration would not necessarily be maintained up to that late. We reserved the right to lay down the Mandate and to bring the civil administration to an end at any time after it had become evident that no settlement acceptable to both Jews and Araba had been reached by the Assembly. Sir Alexander Cadogan stated on 15th November that: "... if a United Nations Commission were at work in Palastine taking preparatory steps for a settlement which would require enforcement it must not expect British authorities either to exercise administrative responsibility or to maintain law and order except in the limited areas of which would necessarily remain in occupation during the process of withdrawal."

hope that in drawing up its proposals the Assembly would take full account of the risk of strife in Palestine and of the need to provide a means of filling the gap in the process of enforcement left by the decision of the Mandatory Power that its troops could not be used as the instrument of the United Nations for this purpose. In arranging our withdrawal we would give proper consideration to such arrangements as might have been made by the United Nations for the establishment of a provisional regime to succeed the Mandate, but the present Government would relinquish its authority only to a United National Commission which could then undertake to devolve that authority to successor governments as it thought fit. So long as His Majesty's Government continued to hold the Mandate, they must insist on their undivided control of the country.

modifications were made to the Plan which failed however to provide any alternative means of enforcement to the employment of the forces of the Mandstory Power. It was necessary for our representatives to re-emphasize that the gap in enforcement still remained and that His Majesty's Government did not consider that the Mandste required them to establish either a Jewish State or an Arab State in Palestine by force, or to coerce either people in the interest of the other, nor were they prepared to accept any responsibility under the Assembly recommendations which would involve the use of British troops as the means for enforcing a decision against either people.

In opening the debute in the House of Commens on 11th December, 1947, I recelled the statements made on the problem of enforcement by our delegation to the United Nations, and stated that it was not for Britain, after it had given so much, to take up again the heavy commitments of bringing a new order fashioned by the United Nations into being in the face of new conflict. I stated that the date we had in mind for the termination of the Mandate was 15th May, 1943, and that in our view undivided control of Palestine was essential until the Mandate was relinquished. As His Majesty's Government had made it clear that they could not take part in the implementation of the United Nations Plan it would be undesirable for the Commission to arrive in Palestine until a short period before the termination of the Mandate.

Affairs made the following statement: "I am not going, and His Majesty's Government are not going, to oppose the United Nations decision. The decision has been taken. As someone has said we have tried our best. We have no intention of opposing that decision, but we cannot ourselves undertake, either individually or collectively in association with others, to impose that

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decision by force." In reply to a question regarding our action if the Security Council were to decide that collective enforcement was necessary in respect of Palestine, he said: "It is for the Security Council to lay down itself how they will find the forces, and the form of the forces, but I cannot use British organised forces nor can I be a party at the present moment, with security forces as a whole not yet organised in the United Nations, of putting British forces under other commands. When the scheme is finally worked out of what this United Nations force is to be, what its command is to be, and what its obligations are to be, not only in Palestine but as part of the international set-up, then we will take our corner, but to put British forces under another command in this way in an isolated instance is a thing we are not prepared to do."

9. The latest occasion on which His Majesty's Government's attitude on this matter was re-stated was in the debate in the House of Lords on 20th January when the Minister of State for the Colonies said: "The House will remember that His Majesty's Government have made it abundantly clear again and again that they cannot allow our forces to be employed in imposing a solution upon either community in Palestine. We cannot use British forces to impose a plan which is not freely accepted by both parties in Palestine."

A.C.J.

Colonial Office, S.W.1.
4th February, 1943.

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